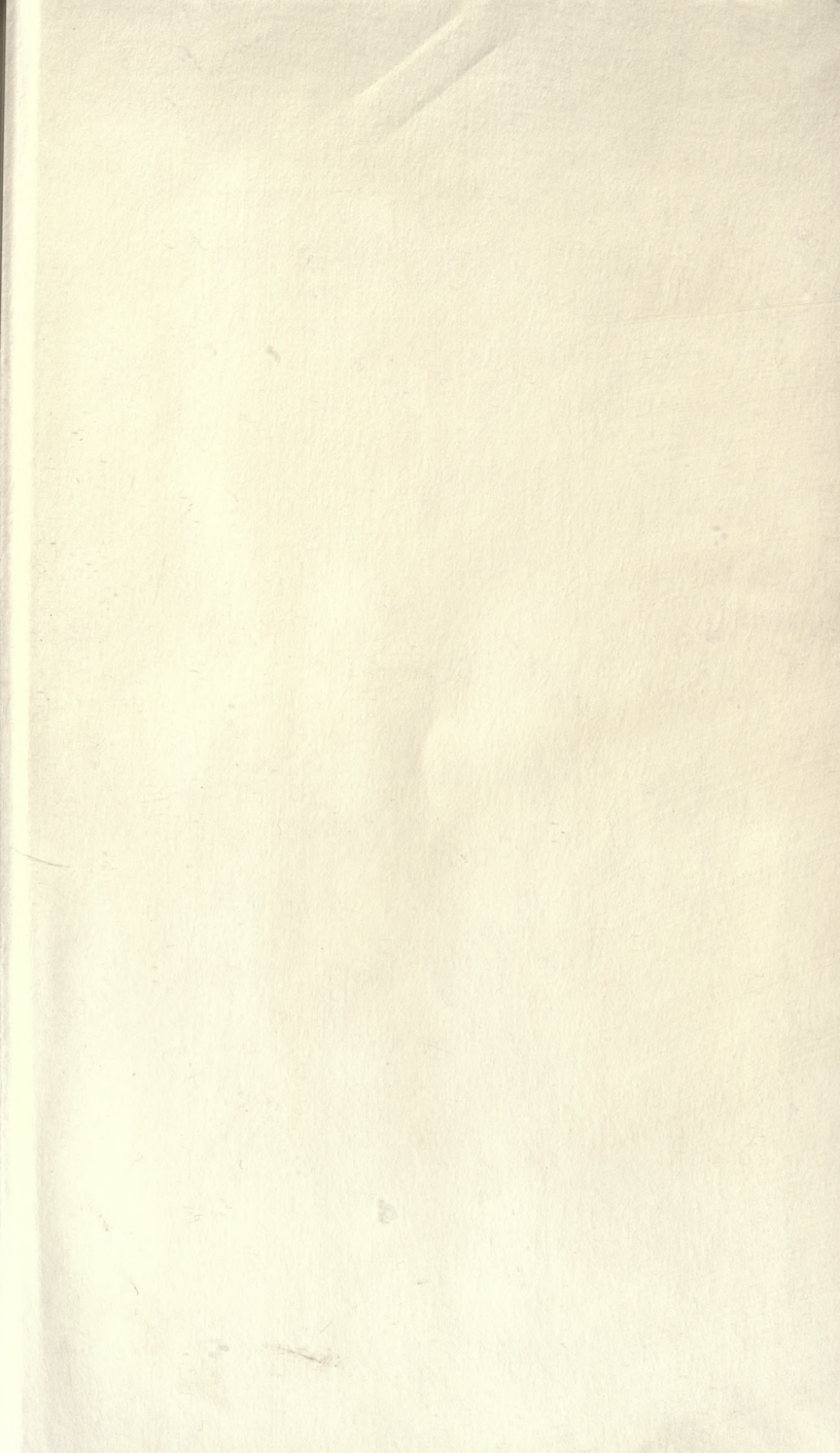


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THE
EARLS OF KILDARE
AND
THEIR ANCESTORS.

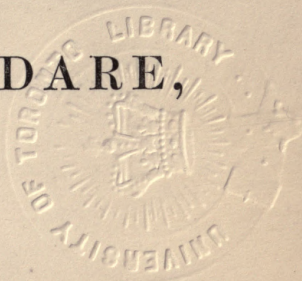
THE
EARLS OF KILDARE,
AND
THEIR ANCESTORS:

FROM 1057 TO 1773.

Leinstre, Charles William Fitzgerald, 4th duke of
[BY THE] MARQUIS OF KILDARE.

Second Edition.

DUBLIN :
HODGES, SMITH, & CO., 104, GRAFTON-STREET,
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1858.



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THE following Notices of the Fitz Gerald's of Kildare, having been collected from the Historical Works in the Libraries at Carton and Kilkea, were printed for private circulation in 1857. The favourable opinions expressed by friends, who have read that work, have induced me to publish it.

KILDARE.

Feb. 1858.

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EARLS OF KILDARE.

YE Geraldines ! ye Geraldines ! how royally ye reigned
 O'er Desmond broad, and rich Kildare, and English arts disdained :
 Your sword made knights, your banner waved, free was your bugle call,
 By Glyn's green slopes, and Dingle's tide, from Barrow's banks to Youghal.
 What gorgeous shrines, what Brehon lore, what minstrel feasts there were
 In and around Maynooth's strong keep and palace-filled Adare !
 But not for rite or feast ye stayed, when friend or kin were pressed ;
 And foemen fled, when "Crom a boo" bespoke your lance in rest.

THOMAS DAVIS.

OTHO.

THE Fitz Gerald, or Geraldines, are descended from "Dominus Otho," or Other, who in 1057 (16th Edward the Confessor) was an honorary Baron of England.* He is said to have been one of the family of the Gherardini of Florence,† and to have passed into

* Sir William Dugdale.

† The Gherardini were one of the Baronial families, before Florence became a Republic. Their possessions were chiefly in the Val d'Elsa, where there are still the ruins of several of their castles. Among the families of that name still existing in Tuscany and Lombardy, is that of the Marchese Gherardini. Gammurini thus traces their descent :—

	Rainerio,	A. D.	910.
	Rambuto,	„	950.
	Rainerio,	„	990.
(Otho may have been a son of this Gherardo.)	}	Gherardo,	„ 1020.
		Cece, or Cæsar,	„ 1050.
		&c.	

Normandy, and thence into England.* He was so powerful at that period, that it is probable that he was one of the foreigners who came to England with King Edward, and whom he favoured so much as to excite the jealousy of the native nobles.† It is also remarkable that Otho's son, Walter, was treated as a fellow-countryman by the Normans after the Conquest. The Latin form of the name of his descendants, "Geraldini," being the same as that of Gherardini, also indicates that he was of that family. Otho possessed three lordships in Surrey, three in Buckinghamshire, two in Berkshire, four in Middlesex, nine in Wiltshire, ten in Hampshire, three in Dorsetshire, and one in Somersetshire.

WALTER FITZ OTHO.

In 1078, Walter Fitz Otho is mentioned in "Domesday Book," as being in possession of his father's estates. He was Castellan of Windsor and Warden of the forests of Berkshire. He married Gladys, daughter of Rhiwalon ap Cynvyn, Prince of North Wales, and had three sons:—

Gerald Fitz Walter.

Robert, surnamed "de Windsor," Baron of Eston, in Essex.

William, also named "de Windsor," ancestor of the family of Windsor.

* Gherardini Papers, MS.

† Hume's England.

GERALD FITZ WALTER.

Gerald Fitz Walter was appointed by Henry I. Constable of Pembroke Castle, and was sent in command of the English forces against the Welsh. He was afterwards made President of the County of Pembroke. He married Nesta, the daughter of Rhys ap Gruffydh ap Tudor Mawr, Prince of South Wales. This beautiful princess had been mistress of Henry I., and was mother by him of the celebrated Robert of Gloucester, and of Meyler Fitz Henry. She afterwards married Stephen, Constable of Cardigan, by whom she had one son, Robert Fitz Stephen. After the death of her first husband she married Gerald Fitz Walter.

In 1094 the Welsh laid siege to the Castle of Pembroke, which had lately been built by Arnulph de Montgomery, and which was gallantly defended by Gerald, who baffled all their efforts to take it.

At Christmas, 1108, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, Prince of Cardigan, having invited the neighbouring chieftains to a feast at Dyvet, it was mentioned, in the course of the entertainment, that Nesta was the most beautiful woman in Wales ; this excited the curiosity of Owen, the son of Cadwgan, who resolved to see her. Under the pretence of a friendly visit (she being his cousin), he obtained admittance with his attendants into Pembroke Castle. Finding her more beautiful than he expected, he became deeply enamoured, and determined to carry her off. In the middle of the night he set fire to the Castle, and with his followers surrounded the room

where Gerald and Nesta were. Gerald, awakened by the noise, was about to ascertain the cause, when his wife, suspecting some treason, persuaded him to make his escape by letting himself down by a rope. Owen soon broke open the door, and not finding Gerald, seized his wife and two of his sons, and carried them off into Powys, leaving the Castle in flames. Whether Nesta yielded to him from choice or force is uncertain, but at her request, he soon after sent back the boys to Gerald. Fearing, however, punishment for this outrage, he fled into Ireland.

In 1116 Henry I. ordered Owen ap Cadwgan, who had returned to Wales, to apprehend Gruffydh, son of Rhys ap Tudor. He at once set out to join the forces of Robert of Gloucester, whom the King, his father, had sent against his uncle. On his march through a wood, he had seized on some cattle, the owners of which, as they fled, met Gerald, Constable of Pembroke, who was also on his way to join the royal troops, and implored his assistance to recover their property. He at once availed himself of the opportunity of revenge for the insult his honour had received, and entered the wood in pursuit of Owen, who, in the skirmish that ensued, was slain, an arrow having pierced his heart.*

Gerald had, by Nesta, three sons :—

Maurice.

William, ancestor of the families of Carew, Grace, Fitz Maurice and Gerard.

David, consecrated in 1147 Bishop of St. David's. He died in 1176.

* Warrington's History of Wales.

MAURICE FITZ GERALD.

In 1168, Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, having persuaded Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, to assist him in recovering his kingdom, from which he had been driven by Roderick O'Connor, King of Ireland, was returning to Ireland, when, having reached St. David's, he was hospitably received by David Fitz Gerald, Bishop of St. David's, who proposed to Dermot that his brother Maurice, and his half-brother Robert Fitz Stephen, should join him with a body of troops in the spring, while Strongbow was preparing his larger armament. Dermot accepted this offer, and promised to grant to them the town of Wexford and two cantreds of land in its neighbourhood.

Some time before this Fitz Stephen had been thrown into prison by his cousin, Rhys ap Gruffydh, but now, at the request of Dermot, was liberated to enable him to prepare for the expedition. In May, 1169, he landed in Ireland at the head of 400 men, and marched against Wexford, which he took by assault.

Soon after, Maurice Fitz Gerald arrived at Wexford with two ships, having on board ten knights, thirty men-at-arms, and about a hundred archers. Dermot having invested his two allies with the lordship of Wexford, marched, accompanied by Maurice, to attack the Ostmen of Dublin, while Fitz Stephen remained to build a castle at Carrig, near Wexford, on the cantred which had been granted to him. After taking Dublin, Dermot,

thinking that Strongbow had given up his projected expedition, offered his daughter Eva in marriage to Fitz Gerald or Fitz Stephen, if they would bring over a force sufficient to conquer the island ; but they being already married declined the offer. In a short time Strongbow arrived with a large force, and took Waterford by assault ; and within a few days his marriage with the Irish Princess was celebrated in that city, Dermot having arrived from Dublin with his daughter, and accompanied by Fitz Gerald and Fitz Stephen.

In 1171, Maurice and Strongbow were in Dublin when it was besieged by King Roderick O'Connor at the head of 30,000 men, and blockaded by sea by the Manx fleet of thirty vessels. Fitz Stephen was at the same time besieged by the Irish in Carrig Castle. Not having been able to obtain fair terms of surrender, Strongbow held a council of war in which Maurice made the following speech :—" We have not come so far, comrades, for pleasure and rest, but to try the chances of fortune, and under peril of our heads to meet the forces of the enemy. For such is the mutability of human affairs, that as the setting of the sun follows its rising, and then the light in the East dispels the darkness of the West, so we, on whom fortune has hitherto conferred glory and plenty, are now beleaguered by land and sea, and are even in want of provisions ; for neither the sea brings succour, nor would the hostile fleets permit it to reach us. Fitz Stephen also, whose courage and noble daring opened to us the way into this island, is now with his small force besieged by a hostile nation. What should we, therefore, wait for ? Though English to the Irish, we

are as Irish to the English; for this island does not show us greater hatred than that. So away with delay and inactivity. For fortune favours the bold, and the fear of scarcity will give strength to our men. Let us attack the enemy manfully; though few in number, we are brave, well-armed, and accustomed to hardship and to victory, and will terrify the ill-armed and unwarlike multitude!"* This advice was adopted, though their whole force did not exceed 600 men. Raymond Le Gros, nephew to Maurice, commanded the first division, Milo de Cogan the centre, and Strongbow and Maurice the last and most numerous. They sallied forth at day-break, and attacked Finglas, the head-quarters of King Roderick. The enemy was taken by surprise, and fled, their great numbers only adding to the confusion, and the monarch, who was at the time bathing, with difficulty effected his escape. So great was the ardour of Gerald and Alexander, Maurice's sons, in the pursuit, that though their station was with their father in the rear, they were soon with the foremost.† After this victory they marched to relieve Fitz Stephen, but on their way they heard that he was already a prisoner, having been obliged to surrender his castle. He was in the following October given up to King Henry, soon after he landed in Ireland.

In April, 1172, Henry II., on his departure for England, appointed Maurice and Fitz Stephen Wardens of Dublin, under Hugh de Lacy, Chief Governor of Ireland. In the same year a conference was held between de Lacy

* Giraldus Cambrensis.

† Ibid.

and Tiernan O'Ruarc, Prince of Breffny, and husband of Devorgilla, whose flight with MacMurrough had been one of the original causes of the invasion, on Tlacta, now the Hill of Ward, near Athboy, in the county of Meath. On the preceding night Gryffyth, son of William FitzGerald, and nephew of Maurice, had dreamt that he saw a herd of wild boars rushing against de Lacy and his uncle Maurice, and that one more fierce than the rest was about to kill them, when he saved them by slaying the monster. In consequence of this dream Gryffyth, with seven or eight young knights, who, under his command, formed de Lacy's guard, wheeled round the spot where the chieftains stood, tilting at each other, but prepared for action. Maurice also, who accompanied de Lacy, watched the movements of the Irish Prince, who in the course of the interview became angry, and, having made a signal to his followers to approach, advanced, with his axe uplifted, towards de Lacy. Maurice drawing his sword, and calling on de Lacy to defend himself, rushed forward, and succeeded in saving him, but not before he had fallen twice. At the first alarm Gryffyth galloped to the spot, and with his lance killed O'Ruarc as he was mounting his horse.*

On the recall of de Lacy in 1173, Maurice retired into Wales, in consequence of the jealousy shown by Strongbow towards him.

In 1176, however, finding that he could not maintain his position without the aid of the Geraldines, Strongbow recalled Maurice, and made to him a grant of the barony

* Hanmer's Chr.

of Offaly, in which was Rathangan, but from which Kildare was excepted, and the territory of Offelan,* in which were Maynooth and Naas. At the same time Maurice obtained a grant of the Castle of Wicklow,† in lieu of his share of Wexford, which the King had, together with other towns, claimed and appropriated to himself. Maurice at that time built the Castle of Maynooth as a defence for his property.

In September, 1177, he died at Wexford, and was buried in the Abbey of Grey Friars, without the walls of that town. Of this Abbey no remains now exist. His death was "not without much sorrow of all his friends, and much harm and loss to the English interest in Ireland. He was a man witty and manfull; a truer man, nor steadfaster, for constancy, fidelity, and love, left he none in Ireland."‡ "Maurice was indeed an honourable and modest man; with a face sun-burnt and well-looking, of middle height; a man well modelled in mind and body; a man of innate goodness; desiring rather to be than to seem good. A man of few words, but full of weight, having more of the heart than of the mouth, more of reason than of volubility, more wisdom than eloquence; and yet when it was required, earnest to the purpose. In military affairs valiant and second to few in activity, neither impetuous nor rash, but circumspect in attack and resolute in defence; a sober, modest, and chaste man; constant, trusty, and faithful; a man not altogether without fault, yet not spotted with any notorious or great crime."§

* Holinshed.

† Lodge.

‡ Ibid.

§ Giraldus Cambrensis.

He married Alice de Montgomery,* daughter of Arnulph, fourth son of Roger de Montgomery, who was nearly related to William the Conqueror, and who led the centre of the Norman army at the battle of Hastings. He was created Earl of Chichester, Arundel, and Shrewsbury, and gave his name to the town of Montgomery.

By this marriage, Maurice had four sons and one daughter :—

Gerald, first Baron of Offaly.

William, Baron of Naas,† to whom his father left the lordship of Naas. He married Alicia, or Basilia, sister of Strongbow, but left no son.

Thomas, surnamed “the Great.” He married Ellinor, daughter of Sir William Morrie, and with her obtained extensive property in Munster. He was ancestor of the Earls of Desmond, the White Knight, the Knight of Glyn, the Knight of Kerry, and the Mackenzies. He died in 1213.‡

Alexander, }
Maurice, } died without issue.

Nesta, married, in 1175, Hervey de Clare de Montemaresco, uncle of Strongbow.

GERALD, FIRST BARON OF OFFALY.

Gerald FitzMaurice was with his father in Dublin in 1171, during the siege, and distinguished himself by his bravery in the sortie.

Soon after his father's death, he was induced by Wil-

* Dr. Mackenzie's Genealogy of the Fitz Gerald's and Mackenzies.
MS.

† Liber Munerum Hiberniæ. ‡ Annals of the Four Masters.

liam Fitz Adelm to exchange the Castle of Wicklow for that of Ferns in Wexford, which, being surrounded by the territories of the Irish, was much exposed to their attacks.

In 1205, he sat in the Parliament as Baron of Offaly, having been summoned, as holding that barony, in the county of Kildare. He is said to have been Lord Justice of Ireland.

He died in 1205, having married Catherine, daughter of Hamo de Valois, a gentleman of Suffolk, who was Lord Justice of Ireland in 1197. They had two sons:—

Maurice, second Baron.

Gerald, who died without issue.

MAURICE, SECOND BARON.

Maurice Fitz Gerald, second Baron of Offaly, appears to have been very young at the time of his father's death, in 1205, as he was only in 1216 put in possession of Maynooth and all the other lands of his father, by a mandatory letter of Henry III. From this it seems that he had then lately attained his majority.

In 1216 (17 John), he received from the King a grant of the Castle of Croom and of Dungarvan in Oglassin.* After his death Dungarvan was resumed by the Crown, and granted in 1260 to John Fitz Thomas, ancestor to the Earls of Desmond.

In 1215, he introduced into Ireland the Order of the Franciscans, and in 1216 that of the Dominicans.†

* Earl of Kildare, Red Book, MS., and Lib. Mun. Hib. pt. III. p. 30.

† Lodge.

In 1229, he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland.

In 1232, he built the Franciscan Abbey of Youghal. Of its origin there is the following tradition:—On the eve of some festival, the workmen, who were digging the foundation of a castle which the Baron was about to build, asked him for money to drink his health. He desired his son to give it to them ; but instead of doing so he reproved them. The Baron was so grieved when he heard of it, that on the spot where the castle was to have been built, he erected the monastery. It was afterwards called the “South Abbey,” but there are now no traces of it remaining.

Having gone in command of a large force that year to aid the King beyond the sea, he was, on the 23rd September, re-appointed Lord Justice on his return, and continued so till 1245.

In 1233, letters under the King’s seal, supposed to have been fraudulently obtained by the Bishop of Winchester, were sent to the Lord Justice and other Barons, to arrest Richard Earl Marshall for conspiracy against the Crown, and to send him alive or dead to England. They accordingly, at a conference on the Curragh of Kildare, on the 1st April, 1234, endeavoured to persuade him to surrender ; but he charged into the midst of his enemies, and in the *melée* he was unhorsed, and stabbed in the back. Being conveyed to one of his castles, which had fallen into the hands of the Justiciary, he died there within a short time. The Baron of Offaly, fearing the resentment of the Earl’s brother and successor, soon after repaired to London, and, in the presence of the King, Henry III., and his principal nobles, took a solemn oath

that he was innocent of all participation in the death of the Earl; and, as a further act of conciliation, he, in 1236, founded the Dominican Abbey at Sligo, the fine ruins of which still exist, and of which the monks were to offer up prayers for the soul of the murdered Earl.

In 1234, the King issued a writ, directing him to proclaim free trade between his subjects of England and Ireland.

In 1235, he marched at the head of a large force into Connaught. Having crossed the Shannon, he took Cormac M'Art O'Melaghlin prisoner at Athlone, burnt Roscommon and Elphin, and reduced the whole province to submission.

In 1236, he built the Castle of Armagh, of which there are now no remains.

In 1240, he received the King's letter, ordering the union of the Sees of Armagh and Clogher, on account of their poverty. It did not, however, then take place. In that year, the Baron being in England, Felim O'Connor Prince of Connaught, having complained that de Burgh had invaded and wasted his country, the King immediately ordered the Baron "to root out that barren tree planted in Connaught by Hubert de Burgh in the madness of his power, and not to suffer it to shoot forth."*

In 1242, he built the Castle of Sligo. Of this also there are now no traces.†

In 1245, being summoned to aid the King in Wales with his Irish forces, he was for some time delayed ; but

* Grace's Annals.

† Ibid.

at length, with Felim O'Connor of Connaught, presented himself before the King, who was, however, displeased at the tardiness of the Lord Justice.* Among other rights, the Irish Barons claimed exemption of attending the Sovereign beyond the realm, and on this occasion the writs were accompanied by a declaration that their attendance should not be considered as a precedent. In November Henry III. dismissed the Baron from his office. (*Mauritium Hiberniæ Justiciarum, eo quod fecte et tarde auxilium ab Hibernia Domino Regi duxerat periclitanti, a Justiciaria deposuit.*)†

In 1246, he advanced with a large army into Tyrconnell, and reduced its prince, O'Donnell, to submission; and in 1248, he marched into Tyrone, forced O'Neill to give hostages, and returned with great booty.‡

In 1248, at his request, the Archbishop of Dublin erected the chapel of Maynooth, which was attached to the Castle, into a prebend of the Cathedral of St. Patrick. The nomination to this prebend is still in the gift of his descendant, the Duke of Leinster.§ He also granted to the monastery of All Saints, or All Hallows near Dublin, the "church of Tachtodh," or Taghadoe, for the good of his soul, and the souls of his wife Juliana, and of his predecessors and successors.|| The advowson of this church, *inter alia*, was, on the suppression of the monastery, in 1539, granted by Henry VIII., as a reward for the loyalty of the citizens during the Rebellion of "Silken Thomas,"

* Ware's Annals.

† Borlace, Red. of Ire. p. 22.

‡ Grace's Annals.

§ Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibern. vol. ii. p. 165.

|| Reg. of All Hallows, pp. xiii. and 16.

to the Corporation of Dublin, from whom it was purchased by the Duke of Leinster in 1842.

In 1257, a battle was fought between the Baron and Godfrey O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, at the Rosses to the north of Sligo, in which the latter had the advantage. They met in single combat, and wounded each other severely.*

The Baron soon after retired into the Franciscan Monastery at Youghal, founded by him in 1232, where, having assumed the habit of the Order, he died in the same year, 1257.

Besides the two monasteries already mentioned, he founded a Preceptory of the order of St. John of Jerusalem at Killeel in the Co. Kildare.†

“He was a valiant knight, a very pleasant man, inferior to none in the kingdom, having lived all the days of his life with commendation.” (*Miles strenuus et facetus, nulli secundus.*)‡

He married Juliana, daughter of John de Cogan, who was Lord Justice in 1247, and had three sons :—

Maurice, third Baron.

Gerald, father of Maurice, fifth Baron.

Thomas, father of John, first Earl of Kildare.

MAURICE, THIRD BARON.

Maurice Fitz Maurice, third Baron of Offaly, succeeded his father in 1257.

In 1264, there was a feud between the Geraldines

* Annals of the Four Masters.

† Ware.

‡ Mathew Paris.

and the de Burghs, which rose to such a height, that at a meeting held at Castledermot, the Baron and his nephew, John Fitz Thomas, who must have been then very young, seized Richard de Burgh, heir of the Earl of Ulster, together with his allies, the Lord Justice Richard de Capella, Theobald Butler, and John Cogan, and imprisoned them in the Castles of Lea and Dunamase.*

In June, 1272, Sir James de Audley, the Lord Justice, having been killed by a fall from his horse, the Baron was elected by the Council as his successor.† On the accession of Edward I., in November, he was continued in that office ; and in December, a writ was addressed to him and others, to receive the oaths of allegiance of all the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of Ireland.

In 1273, having marched into Offaly, he was betrayed by his own people into the hands of the O'Connors, and detained prisoner by them, until, having given hostages, he was released. In consequence of his imprisonment, he was, in October, succeeded as Lord Justice by Sir Geoffrey de Geneville, whose daughter was married to his brother Gerald. He then retired to his lands in Munster, and with Theobald Butler, without consulting the Council, invaded Thomond, and forced the O'Briens to give hostages.‡

In 1277, he again, with his son-in-law, Thomas de Clare, invaded Thomond, in consequence of renewed outrages ; they took prisoner O'Brien Roe, Prince of Tho-

* Clyn's Annals.

† Grace's Annals.

‡ Ware's Annals.

mond, and beheaded him ; but having, with part of their forces, been led into a pass in the Slieve-Bloom mountains, they were surrounded, and being reduced to eat horse-flesh, they were forced not only to give hostages, but to surrender to the Irish the Castle of Roscommon, in satisfaction for O'Brien's death.*

The Baron soon after died at Ross, in 1277.

He followed his father's example in granting to the Priory of All Hallows the Parish of Rath, in Imokilly, in the County of Cork.†

He married Emelina de Longespée, heiress of the territory of O'Murthy, in which were Kilkea and Castledermot, and daughter of Sir Stephen de Longespée, by his marriage with Emelina, only daughter and heiress of Walter de Riddlesford, Baron of Bray, to whom O'Murthy had been granted by King John. Stephen was grandson of the Fair Rosamond Clifford, and had been Lord Justice of Ireland for one year, when he died in 1260. By Emelina, who died in 1291, the Baron had one son and two daughters :—

Gerald, fourth Baron.

Mabel, or Amabilia, who died unmarried, having settled her property on her cousin John, afterwards first Earl of Kildare.

Juliana, who in 1276 married Thomas de Clare, son of Richard, Earl of Gloucester. They had two daughters, Margaret, married to Bartholomew, Lord Baddlesmere, and Maud, married Robert, Lord de Clifford.

* Cox.

† Register of All Hallows, pp. xiii. and xvii.

GERALD, FOURTH BARON.

Sir Gerald Fitz Maurice, fourth Baron of Offaly, in 1260, completed the Franciscan or Grey Abbey at Kildare, which had been commenced by William de Vescei ; and in 1271, he founded the Franciscan Abbey, at Clane. He succeeded his father in his barony in 1277.

In 1285, the lands of Theobald de Verdon, in Meath, having been plundered by O'Connor Faly, the Baron in revenge invaded Offaly, but in the battle that ensued was taken prisoner.*

In 1287, being at war with Turlough O'Brien, he was wounded in a battle in Thomond, when his brother-in-law Thomas de Clare, Richard Taaffe, Richard Deviter, and Nicholas Teeling, were slain.† He soon after died at Rathmore, and was buried at Kildare. He had some time before his death settled Offaly and the manor of Maynooth on his cousin John Fitz Thomas, afterwards Earl of Kildare.

GERALD FITZ MAURICE.

Gerald Fitz Maurice, second son of the second Baron, married Johanna, daughter of Sir Geoffrey de Geneville, Lord of Trim,‡ and of Maud, co-heiress of Walter de Lacy. In 1277 he was drowned in passing from England to Ireland. He had one son and one daughter :—

Maurice, fifth Baron.

* Annals of Innisfallen.

† Ibid.

‡ Liber Munerum Hiberniæ.

Juliana, married John de Cogan, by whom she had a son, John. She granted to her cousin, John Fitz Thomas, the manors of Crom, Adare, Castlerobert, and Geashill, to which she succeeded as heiress of her brother, on condition that she should have the manor of Maynooth for her life, and the dower to which she was entitled on the death of her sister-in-law, Agnes de Valence, and her mother, Johanna de Geneville.*

MAURICE, FIFTH BARON.

Maurice appears to have succeeded as fifth Baron of Offaly. He married Agnes de Valence, daughter of William, Earl of Pembroke, and great grand-daughter of Eva, daughter of Dermot M'Murrough; but died without issue.

THOMAS FITZ MAURICE.

Thomas Fitz Maurice, third son of the second Baron, founded the Franciscan Abbey at Castledermot, the ruins of which still remain, and also the Trinitarian Abbey at Adare, for the redemption of Christian captives from the Moors; the monks of which wore red and blue crosses on their breasts. The Baron was persuaded to build this Abbey by the Earl of March, a Scottish nobleman, who was a patron of this order, which had redeemed two of his servants from captivity.† The Abbey is now the Roman Catholic Chapel of Adare.

* Earl of Kildare's Red Book.

† Lopez Hist. del Orden.

Thomas Fitz Maurice is called by the annalist O'Clery,* Baron of Offaly, and Baron of Geashill, having built the Castle of Geashill.

He married, first, Rohesia, or Rose, daughter of Richard de St. Michael, Lord of Rheban,† and heiress of Athy and Woodstock ; they had one son, John, his successor. Secondly, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lord Mandeville. And thirdly, Mary, daughter of Theobald Walter or Butler.

The ancient war-cry of the Geraldines of Kildare was "Crom-a-boo," and that of the Desmond branch "Shanid-a-boo." "A buaid," the Irish for "to victory," was the usual termination of the war-cries in Ireland, and was added to the distinctive watchword of each tribe. Crom (Croom) and Shanid were two castles, about sixteen miles apart, in the Co. Limerick, the ruins of which still remain. They belonged to the two principal branches of the Geraldines, and being on the borders of the O'Briens' country and the constant object of attack, "Crom-a-boo" or "Shanid-a-boo" was shouted in opposition to the "Lamhlaider-a-boo," "the strong hand to victory," of the O'Briens. In 1495, the Act 10 Henry VII. c. 20, was passed "to abolish the words Crom-a-boo and Butler-a-boo."

The following are traditions in connexion with the origin of the monkey being the crest of the Offaly Geraldines :—

"John Fitz Thomas, afterwards Earl of Kildare, then an infant, was in the Castle of Woodstock, near Athy, when there was an alarm of fire. In the confusion that

* Genealogy.

† Liber Mun. Hib.

ensued the child was forgotten, and when the servants returned to search for him, the room in which he lay was found in ruins. Soon after a strange noise was heard on one of the towers, and on looking up they saw an ape, which was usually kept chained, carefully holding the child in his arms. The Earl afterwards, in gratitude for his preservation, adopted a monkey for his crest and supporters, and some of his descendants, in memory of it, took the additional motto of 'Non immemor beneficii.'"

The other tradition is, that Thomas Fitz Maurice, was only nine months old when his father and grandfather were slain at the battle of Callan, in 1261. The child was at Tralee, and on his attendants rushing out alarmed at the intelligence, he was left alone in his cradle, when a tame baboon or ape took him up in his arms and ran with him to the top of the tower of the neighbouring Abbey. After carrying him round the battlements and exhibiting him to the frightened spectators, he brought the infant back to its cradle in safety. Thomas was, in consequence, surnamed "An Appagh" (in Irish), "Simiacus" or "the Ape." He, however, was ancestor to the Earls of Desmond.

When Dean Swift was writing "Gulliver's Travels," he had quarrelled with the Earl of Kildare, and in order to vex him, introduced into his story the part in which his hero is carried off and fed by the Brobdinadian ape.

JOHN, FIRST EARL OF KILDARE.

John Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald, Baron of Offaly, was the only surviving male descendant of the first Baron.

In 1264 he was at the meeting at Castledermot, when his uncle, the third Baron, seized and imprisoned the Lord Justice, Richard de Capella, and other Barons.*

About the year 1293, he was at variance with William de Vesci, Lord of Kildare, a Baron much esteemed by the King, Edward I. Their disputes appear to have arisen in consequence of the contiguity of their estates in Kildare. De Vesci, being Lord Justice of Ireland, stated openly that John Fitz Thomas was the cause of the existing disturbances, and that he was "in private quarrels as fierce as a lyon, but in publicke injuries as meeke as a lambe." This having been reported to the Baron, he, in the presence of the Lords of the Council, replied: "You would gladly charge me with treason, that by shedding my bloud, and by catching my lands into your clouches, that but so neere upon your lands of Kyldare, you might make your sonne a proper gentleman." "A gentleman," quoth the Lord Justice, "thou bold Baron, I tell thee, the Vescis were gentlemen before the Giraldines were Barons of Offaly, yea, and before that Welsh bankrupt, thyne ancestour (he meant Sir Maurice Fitz Giralde), fethered his nest in Leinster," and then accused him of being "a supporter of thieves and upholder of traytours." "As for my ancestor," replied the Baron, "whom you terme a bankrupt, how riche or how poore he was upon his repayre to Ireland, I purpose not at this time to debate, yet this much I may boldly say, that he came hither as a byer, not a beggar. He bought his enemy's land by spending

* Camden's An.

† Campion.

his blood. But you, lurking like a spider in his copweb to entrappe flies, endeavour to beg subjects livings wrongfully by despoiling them of their lives. I, John Fitz Thomas, Baron of Offaly, doe tell thee, William Vesci, that I am noe traytor, noe felon, but that thou art the only battress, by which the King's enemies are supported." He then appealed to the King, who summoned them both to England (some say they went of their own accord). When they were in the King's presence, de Vesci commenced by accusing the Baron of encouraging rebellion against his authority, and Offaly having in return accused the Justiciary of corruption, saying that while the nobility were excluded from his presence "an Irish cow could at all times have access to him," and that a cow, a horse, a hawk, a silver-bell were the real causes of the disturbances, ended thus : "But so much as our mutual complaints stand upon the one his Yea, and the other his Nay, and that you would be taken for a champion, and I am known to be no coward, let us, in God's name, leave lieing for varlets, bearding for ruffians, facing for crakers, chatting for twattlers, scolding for callets, booking for scriveners, pleading for lawyers, and let us try with the dint of swords, as become martial men to do, our mutual quarrels. Wherefore to justify that I am a true subject, and that thou, Vesci, art an arch-traitor to God and to my King, here in the presence of his Highness, and in the hearing of this honourable assembly, I challenge the combat." The audience applauded, and the challenge having been accepted by de Vesci, the King fixed the day for the combat ; but de Vesci, having before the appointed time

fled to France, the King declared Offaly innocent, and added : “ Albeit de Vesci conveyed his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland,” and he granted them to the Baron.*

Another version of this transaction is that during his sojourn in Dublin de Vesci was accused in open court, in the presence of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and others, of felony, and challenged to the combat by John Fitz Thomas. He subsequently instituted a suit before the Chief Justice in Dublin against the said Fitz Thomas for defamation, in saying that he, de Vesci, had solicited him to a conspiracy against the King. Fitz Thomas, denying this charge, delivered into court a schedule containing the words which he acknowledged. He was then defied to the combat by William, and accepted the challenge. But the King being apprised of the proceedings, by a writ dated 21st April, 1294, prohibited the battle, and ordered both to appear before him at Westminster.† To this place de Vesci came, mounted on his war-horse, covered, and armed with lance, dagger, and coat-of-mail, and proffered himself to fight. But Fitz Thomas, though called, did not appear. This affair was afterwards brought before Parliament, but dismissed.‡ In 1297 de Vesci made a surrender of the lands in Ireland to which he had succeeded as heir of his mother, Agnes de Ferrers ; and the manor and town of Kildare were afterwards granted to Fitz Thomas.

In 1294, Richard de Burgh, the “ Red Earl” of Ulster, who, after the death of Gerald, fourth Baron of Offaly, and

* Holinshed.

† Rymer, vol. i. p. 799.

‡ Burke’s Extinct Peerage.

his brother-in-law, Thomas de Clare, in 1286, had attained great power, claimed the lands of Theobald de Verdon in Meath, and took forcible possession of them. The Baron of Offaly, however, went to the assistance of de Verdon, and having taken the Earl and his brother, William de Burgh, prisoners in Meath, on the 6th December, confined them in his Castle of Ley. They were, on the 12th March, 1295, liberated by order of the Parliament held at Kilkenny, on giving as hostages the Earl's two sons;* and a truce for two years was concluded.

In 1294, the Baron marched against and defeated the Irish of Offaly, who under Calvagh, brother of O'Connor Faly, had invested the Pale in great force, seized the Castle of Kildare, and burnt the rolls and tallies relating to the records and accounts of the county. He then invaded and ravaged Connaught.†

In 1295, his name appears third in the list of a Parliament held in that year, 23 Ed. III., by the Lord Justice, Sir John Wogan, following those of Richard Earl of Ulster, and Geoffrey de Genevil.‡

In 1296, he and the "Red Earl" went with their forces to Scotland to assist the King, Edward I., who entertained them sumptuously in Roxburgh Castle. In that year King John Baliol was taken prisoner by Edward I., and Sir William Wallace then undertook the deliverance of Scotland.

In 1298, the disputes between the Geraldines and

* Annals of Innisfallen.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

‡ Lib. Mun. Hib.

de Burghs were finally settled, through the interference of Sir John Wogan, the Lord Justice. It was then agreed that the Earl of Ulster should give his daughter in marriage to Thomas Fitz Gerald, the Baron's son, and that Lord Offaly should give the Earl 3,000 marks as indemnity for all losses, to be discharged as follows: Sligo and its appurtenances to be assigned for 1,000 ; his silver plate for 1,000 ; and 1,000 to be retained as the portion of the Earl's daughter.* The marriage did not take place until 1312.

In 1299 the Baron was again summoned to attend the King, "with horse and arms, in his best array, for war against the Scots," and to meet him at Withwelaun on the 1st of March.

In 1301 he went a third time to Scotland, and remained there from a fortnight before Lammas to the 1st November, when he returned to Ireland.

In 1307 he and his son-in-law, Sir Edmund Butler, afterwards Earl of Carrick, marched into Connaught and then into Offaly, where they relieved Ley Castle, which was besieged by the Irish who had razed Geashill Castle.†

In 1312 he went in command of the forces which were sent into Munster, and at Adare knighted Nicholas Fitz Maurice, third Lord of Kerry, and Robert Clonkull for their good services.

In 1315, Edward Bruce having invaded Ireland, the King, Edward II., required the "Magnates Hiberniæ" to sign a "letter of allegiance," and to give hostages to be

* Lodge.

† Grace's Annals.

kept in Dublin Castle. At the head of the subscribers to this letter is "Johan le Fuiz Thomas Seigneur Doffaly."*

Bruce with his army having advanced into Kildare as far as the Moat of Ardsclull, was there opposed by the Lord Justice, Sir Edmund Butler, the Baron of Offaly, and other lords of Leinster and Munster. A skirmish ensued, in which several Scottish knights and officers fell, who were buried in the church of the Dominican monastery at Athy.† But in consequence of feuds among its leaders the Anglo-Irish army retreated from the field of battle, and the Lord Justice was afterwards so occupied in repelling the attacks of the Irish, that he was unable to march against the Scots again that year.

In 1315, the Baron built and endowed the Augustinian Abbey at Adare, the ruins of which are in the demesne of Adare Manor.

On the 14th May, 1316, Edward II. created him Earl of Kildare, by a patent dated at Westminster, and granted to him "for his good service," the castle and town of Kildare. (Appendix I.)

He survived his elevation but a short time, dying at Maynooth or Laraghbryan on the 10th September, 1316, and was buried in the Grey Abbey at Kildare.

Muireadach O'Daly wrote thus of the Earl in 1601:—

"John the redoubtable
Than whom no poet was more learned.
The first Leinster Earl without reproach,
The high-minded man, to his engagements true.

* Liber Munerum Hiberniæ, iv. 6.

† Grace's Annals.

It is from John, then, the noble man,
 That they the heroes of Leinster descend ;
 Men whose valour never fails
 When the shafts of spears are in battle bent.”*

The Earl married Blanche Roche, daughter of John, Baron of Fermoy. They had two sons and two daughters :—

Gerald, who died young in 1303.

Thomas, second Earl of Kildare.

Joan, married in 1302 to Sir Edmund Butler, created Earl of Carrick, ancestor of the Marquis of Ormonde.

Elizabeth, married to Sir Nicholas Netterville, ancestor of the Viscounts Netterville.

THOMAS, SECOND EARL.

Thomas, Second Earl of Kildare, is described as being “a prudent and wise man.”† On the 16th August, 1312, he married at Green Castle on Carlingford Bay, in the county of Down, Lady Joan de Burgh, third daughter of the “Red Earl” of Ulster, and sister of Ellen, wife of King Robert Bruce, and of Margaret, Countess of Desmond.

He succeeded his father in 1316 ; and at the end of the same year he was appointed by the King to the command of an army of, it is said, 30,000 men, raised to oppose the Scots. On the 28th March, 1317, the army was quartered in Kilkenny. In April, Roger Mortimer, having been appointed Justiciary, landed in Ireland, and sent letters, ordering that no attack should

* Translated from the Irish by Eugene Curry.

† Grace’s Annals.

be made on the Scots until he should arrive. But, owing to the indecision of the Parliament sitting in Dublin, the Earl received no orders until 1318, when he was commanded to march against Edward Bruce, who, retreating towards the north, was defeated and slain near Dundalk by Sir John Birmingham.*

In 1317 the office of Sheriff of Kildare, which had been reserved in the patent of the Earldom, was granted to the Earl and his heirs male,† and was still possessed by Gerald, ninth Earl, in the reign of Henry VIII.

In 1319 the Earls of Kildare and Louth, Arnold le Poer and Sir John Wogan, were appointed Commissioners to inquire into all treasons committed in Ireland during Bruce's invasion.‡

In 1320 the Earl was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, when he received a patent enabling him "to subject such of his Irish tenants to the laws of England, as chose to be governed by them." He only held that office for a year.

In December, 1322, he was summoned to meet the King at Carlisle, on the 1st June, with 300 men-at-arms, 1,000 hobellers (horsemen), and 6,000 footmen. But he subsequently received notice that his services would not be required, in consequence of a truce with the Scots.§

In February, 1326, on the accession of Edward III., he was re-appointed as Lord Justice, and held that office until his death.

Under his administration a feud broke out between

* Grace's Annals.

† Red Book.

‡ Rymer.

§ Ibid.

the Geraldines of Desmond, aided by the Butlers and Berminghams on the one side, and the Poers and de Burghs on the other, in consequence of Arnold le Poer having called Maurice Fitz Gerald, afterwards created Earl of Desmond, "a Rhymer." The Earl of Kildare, anxious to reconcile them, ordered Fitz Gerald, Le Poer, and their adherents, to appear before the Council. Instead of obeying, Le Poer fled to England, and Fitz-Gerald invaded and plundered his lands. The Earl, determined to suppress these disorders, raised troops, strengthened the garrisons, and sent messengers to the King, who issued a mandate ordering them to submit themselves to his Deputy. They then agreed to appear before the Council at Kilkenny, and sued for a charter of pardon.*

This Earl introduced the old Irish exaction of "bonaght," called by the English "coin and livery," i.e., money and food for man and horse, without payment, into Kildare, as did the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond into their territories, to enable them to maintain their forces against the Scots.†

He added the chapel of St. Mary to the church of the Franciscan monastery at Castledermot, which his grandfather had founded.‡

He died at Maynooth on the 9th April, 1328, being at the time Lord Justice, and was buried before the altar of the chapel of Our Lady, in the Grey Abbey at Kildare.

He married, in 1312, Lady Joan de Burgh, daughter

* Grace's Annals. † Ware's Antiquities. ‡ Grose's Ant. of Ireland

of Richard Earl of Ulster. She re-married, on the 3rd July, 1329, at Maynooth, Sir John Darcy, who was that year appointed Lord Justice,* by whom she had a son, William, born at Maynooth, in 1330. She died on the 23rd April, 1359, and was buried at Kildare, beside the Earl, by whom she had three sons :—

John, born in 1314, and died in 1323, in his ninth year.

Richard, third Earl.

Maurice, fourth Earl.

RICHARD, THIRD EARL.

Richard, third Earl of Kildare, was born in 1317. He only survived his father a little more than a year, dying at Rathangan on the 7th July, 1329, at the age of twelve years, and was buried on the right hand of his father, in the Grey Abbey at Kildare.

MAURICE, FOURTH EARL.

Maurice, fourth Earl of Kildare, was born in 1318. Being under age when he succeeded his brother in 1329, the King, Edward III., as his guardian, granted the lands of Kildare, Maynooth, Crom, Adare, and Estgrene, to Sir John Darcy, the Earl's step-father, during his minority.

In 1339, having just come of age, he marched against the O'Dempseys, who had invaded Kildare, pursued them so closely that many of them were drowned in the

* Ware's Annals.

River Barrow, and brought back to Dublin the greatest booty ever taken at that time in Ireland.

In 1342, Edward III., having directed the Lord Justice, Sir John Darcy, by an ordinance, to permit Englishmen alone to hold office in Ireland, great dissensions arose between the "English by blood," and the "English by birth." The Lord Justice, in October, summoned a Parliament to meet in Dublin, but the Earl of Kildare and the other Anglo-Irish lords, called, at the same time, a General Assembly at Kilkenny, which resolved to present a petition to the King, who received the remonstrance with deference, and returned an answer calculated to allay the discontent.

In 1345, the Lord Justice, Sir Ralph Ufford, determined to curb the rapidly increasing power of the Earl. Under pretence of raising forces to serve under the King in France, he sent Sir William Burton to the Earl, with two writs, one containing the royal summons, the other a secret power to arrest him. So soon, however, on the proclamation of the royal order, did the Earl's followers assemble, that he was unable to execute the second writ. The Earl was then summoned to Dublin to attend the Council, and while in the Council Chamber in the Court of Exchequer, he was arrested by Sir W. Burton, and imprisoned in Dublin Castle.*

On the 23rd May, 1346, he was released on the recognizances of twenty-four lords and gentlemen ; and in November, he, with the Lord Justice Bermingham, invaded the territory of Leix, and forced O'More to give hostages.

* Grace's Annals.

On the 26th January, 1347, the Earl was summoned to be ready in London, by the next Easter, to go abroad with the King, with thirty men-at-arms and forty hobellers ; and the Treasurer of Ireland was directed to pay for their passage and their reasonable expenses.* The Earl, in consequence, accompanied the King to France, and was present at the siege of Calais, which was taken on the 4th June, and where, for his gallant conduct as leader of the Irish division, he was knighted by Edward III. He there married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh.†

In 1356, he was commanded by the King to "strengthen and maintain his castles at Kilkea, Rathmore, and Ballymore, under pain of forfeiting the same."‡

In 1358, it having been ordered that no person, except merchants, should leave Ireland without the King's licence, the Earl was, in consequence, prohibited from doing so.§

In the same year certain forces having been assigned for the defence of the County of Kildare, the Earl was, on the 14th September, appointed supervisor of the four Commissioners for collecting their pay by a cess of 40d. on every carucate of tilled land, and 40d. on chattels of the value of £6 ; the carucate consisted of 140 acres. The Earl and the County of Kildare supplied the pay for twenty-four men-at-arms and horses at 8d., 200 hobellers at 4d., and 400 foot at 1½d. per diem, for a

* Rymer.

† Grace's Annals.

‡ Rot. in Can. Hib.

§ Rymer.

fortnight, or so long as the war should last.* The Earl in that year received from the County of Carlow 60s., for preventing the O'Mores from burning the town of Killaban.†

On the 30th March, 1360, he was appointed Lord Justice, with the usual salary of £500 per annum, out of which he was obliged to maintain twenty men and horses, constantly in arms.‡

On the 22nd March, 1371, he was appointed Lord Deputy and Custos of the realm.

On the 27th March, 1372, being at Naas, he issued mandates to the Earl of Desmond and others, to meet him with all their men-at-arms, hobellers, and archers, horse and foot, in the Co. Limerick, to defend it against O'Brien of Thomond.

On the 10th February, 1375, he was again appointed Lord Deputy.

In 1378, he presented a petition to the King, stating that having accompanied the Lord Justice, the Earl of Ormonde, "in a certain great hosting upon the O'Morchoes of Slewmary," he had lost six men, and four coats of mail, and other armour, and asking for compensation. He accordingly received a grant of £10 out of the Exchequer.

On the 29th May, 1390, a writ was issued to him to remove Connor, son of Donough O'Dempsey, "the King's Irish enemy," from the Castle of Kildare to Dublin Castle, for safer custody.§

* Rot. cl. 32 Ed. III.

† Ibid.

‡ Borlase's Reduc. of Ir., p. 53.

§ Pat. Roll. 13 Richard II.

He was a great benefactor to the Priory of Saint Wolstans.

He died on the 25th August, 1390, and was buried in the Church of the Holy Trinity, now Christ Church Cathedral, in Dublin. He was a person of great piety.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Knight of the Garter, and with her obtained some lands in Meath. They had four sons, besides daughters:—

Gerald, fifth Earl.

John, }
Richard, } died young.

Thomas, who was Sheriff of Limerick in 1403, and who left no issue.

GERALD, FIFTH EARL.

Gerald, fifth Earl of Kildare, succeeded his father in 1390.

In 1398, he was taken prisoner by Calvagh, son of Murrough O'Connor Faly, and delivered up to his father,* who appears to have liberated him on paying ransom soon after.

In June, 1400, he was, with Patrick Fox and Walter Fitz Gerald, appointed Keeper and Supervisor of the Peace, in the Counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry.

On the 7th September, 1405, he was made Lord Deputy to Thomas of Lancaster, son of Henry IV., afterwards created Duke of Gloucester, the Lord Lieutenant. He held that office until October, 1406.

* Annals of the Four Masters.

In 1407, he assisted his successor, Sir Stephen Scroop, in subduing Art M'Murrough, and other Irish chiefs, and in a battle at Callan, in Kilkenny, he defeated O'Carrol, who was slain with 800 of his men.

In 1408, he built the White Castle at New Leighlin. Of this Castle there are no remains. In August, when Thomas of Lancaster, the Lord Lieutenant, landed at Carlingford, the Earl went to meet him, but was, with three of his family, suddenly arrested, and sent prisoner to Dublin Castle, and all his goods plundered by the servants of the Lord Lieutenant. He was afterwards liberated on paying a fine of 300 marks.* The cause of this arrest is doubtful, but is supposed to have been, "because he and Adam O'Nolan refused to state the reason why they would not permit the King to present a fit person to the Prebend of Maynooth," which, though in the gift of the Earl, appears to have been claimed by the Crown.

He died in 1410, and was buried in the Grey Abbey, at Kildare.

He married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir John Rochfort. She had been granted in ward to his father, by Richard II., in 1381, and was only fourteen years of age when he married her. They had two sons and one daughter:—

John, sixth Earl.

Thomas, who died without issue.

Lady Joan, married first to Jenico Grey, by whom she had no issue; and secondly, to James, fourth Earl of Ormonde.

* Marleburrough.

JOHN, SIXTH EARL.

John, sixth Earl of Kildare, was surnamed "Crouch back," and "Shane Cam" by the Irish.*

In 1410, he succeeded his father.

In 1418, he was arrested at Clane, in Kildare, and imprisoned in the Castle of Trim, "for having communicated with the Prior of Kilmainham."† It is not known what was the Prior's offence.

In October, 1420, he received twenty marks, to defray the expenses which he had incurred "in resisting the Irish enemies and English rebels on the frontiers of the Pale."

He strengthened and enlarged the Castles of Maynooth and Kilkea. The former had then been for more than a century the principal residence of the Earls, and was "one of the largest and richest Earl's houses in Ireland."

He died on the 17th of October, 1427, and was buried in the Monastery of All Saints, or All Hallows,‡ on the site of which is Trinity College, in Dublin.

He married Margaret de la Herne, and had an only son:—

Thomas, seventh Earl.

THOMAS, SEVENTH EARL.

Thomas, seventh Earl of Kildare, succeeded his father in 1427.

* Annals of the Four Masters.

† Marleborough.

‡ Grace's Annals.

In 1454, he was appointed Lord Deputy to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, father of Edward IV.

In 1456, he was re-appointed to that office, which he held until 1459. During that period he held several Parliaments in Dublin, and at Naas.

In 1459, the Four Masters relate in their Annals: "A great defeat given by the Earl of Kildare to O'Connor Faly."

In 1460, he was again appointed Lord Deputy by the Duke of York, who wisely divided his confidence between the Earl of Kildare, a Yorkist, and the Earl of Ormonde, a Lancastrian, confiding the sword of office to each in turn. When he fell, at the battle of Wakefield, there were slain under his banner several members of both families.* On the death of the Duke, in 1460, the Earl of Kildare was elected by the Council Lord Justice.

In 1461, he was, on the accession of Edward IV., re-appointed Lord Justice, and took the oaths in Christ's Church, Dublin, before the Parliament and Council.

Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV., having granted to the Earl the manor of Moylagh, in the County of Meath, without having obtained the license of Henry VI. for alienating it, a pardon for that offence was granted by Edward IV. to the Earl soon after his accession on the 5th July, 1460, with a confirmation of the conveyance.

In January, 1463, he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland for life, with a fee of £40 per annum, and 10s. per diem. This appointment was confirmed by the Act 12th Edward IV.

* Moore's Ireland.

In 1464, he and his wife, Lady Joan Fitz Gerald, founded and endowed the Franciscan Abbey, at Adare.* They built the church, and gave it two chalices of silver, and the great bell, which cost £10. The chapel of this Abbey is now the parish church of Adare.

In 1467, he, his brother-in-law, the Earl of Desmond, and Edward Plunkett were attainted by the Act 6th Edward IV., passed in a Parliament held at Drogheda, "for alliance, fosterage, and alterage with the King's Irish enemies." They were arrested, and Desmond, who had opposed the King's marriage with Lady Elizabeth Woodeville, widow of Sir John Grey, was beheaded. Kildare having made his escape from prison repaired to England, where he pleaded his cause so well before the King, that the Act of Attainder was repealed by the same Parliament, and he was in the same year appointed Lord Justice.

Holinshed relates the following anecdote of this Earl :

"1470. Within a mile of Castledermott, is there a place marked with two hillocks, which is named 'the Geraldine, his throw or cast,' the length of which in verie deed is woonderfull. The occasion proceeded of this. One of the Giraldins prede an enemie of his. The Earle of Kyldare having intelligence thereof, suppressing affection of kindred, and moved by zeal of justice, pursued him with a great troope of horsemen, as the other was bringing of the prede homeward. The Giraldine having notice given him that the Earle was in hotte pursute, being nettled that his kinsman woulde seeme to rescue the prede of his deadlie fo ; as he was in such

* Annals of the Four Masters.

fretting wise, frieing in his grease, he brake out in these cholericke words: 'And doath my cousin Kildare pursue me in deed? Now, in good faith, whereas he seemeth to be a suppressor of his kindred, and an upholder of my mortall enemie, I would wish him no more harme than that this dart were as far in his bodie, as it shall sticke forthwith in the ground.' And therewithal giving the spurres to his horse, he hurled his dart so farre, as he abashed, with the length thereof, as well his companie as his posteritie. The Giraldine was not very farre from thense, when the Earle with his band made hot foot after, and dogging still the tracke of the predours, he came to the place where the dart was hurled, where one pickthanke or other let the Earle to understand of the Giraldine his wild speeches there delivered. And to enhanse the offence, he showed him how farre he hurled his dart, when he wished it to be pitched in his Lordship's bodie. The Earl, astonied thereof, said: 'Now, in good sooth, my cousine, in behaving so couragiouslie, is worthy to have the prede shot free. And for my part, I purpose not so much to stomack his cholerick wish as to embrace his valiant prowess.' And therewithal commanded the retreat to be blowne, and reculed backe."*

In 1471, the Earl of Kildare and people of Meath made an incursion into Farney (County of Monaghan), and committed great depredation on McMahon.†

In that year (1471), he was appointed Lord Deputy, having been Lord Justice since 1467.

* Holinshed Des. of Ir. p. 17.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

The Earl held two Parliaments at Drogheda, and in 1472 one at Naas, in which an Act was passed to compel merchants to import from England bows and arrows to the value of 20s. for every £20 of other goods.

In 1473, was passed the Act confirming his appointment as Lord Chancellor for life.

In 1475, the Earl was dismissed from his office of Lord Deputy, and his inveterate enemy, William Sherwood, Bishop of Meath, appointed as his successor, under whom the dissensions between the Geraldines and Butlers became very formidable.

This Earl established the Order of the "Brothers of St. George," consisting of thirteen persons of the highest rank and most approved loyalty, belonging to the Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Louth; 120 mounted archers and 40 horsemen, attended by 40 pages. The archers received six pence per diem, and the horsemen five pence for themselves, with four marks per diem. The object of the fraternity was to resist the Irish enemies and English rebels. The officers assembled annually in Dublin on St. George's Day to elect their captain. These 13 officers and 200 men then composed the whole standing army supported by the government in Ireland. The Earl's son, Gerald, was the first knight elected, and was appointed captain. The fraternity was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1494.

The Earl died on the 25th March, 1477, and was buried beside his father in the Monastery of All Hallows near Dublin.

He married Lady Joan Fitz Gerald, daughter of James, seventh Earl of Desmond. She died in 1486, and was

buried in the monastery at Adare, which she and her husband had founded. They had four sons and two daughters :—

1. Gerald, eighth Earl.

2. Sir Thomas of Laccagh, appointed in 1484 Lord Chancellor of Ireland for life. He was slain in the battle of Stoke, fighting for Lambert Simnel, in 1487.

3. James.

4. Maurice.

The descendants of the three younger sons are extinct in the male line.

1. Lady Elleanor, married to Henry M'Owen O'Neill, chief of his clan. Her son, Con More, married his cousin, Lady Alice, daughter of the eighth Earl. She died on the 14th November, 1497.*

2. Lady Anne.

GERALD, EIGHTH EARL.

Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, called by the Irish "Geroit More," or the Great, succeeded his father in 1477.

In 1478, in consequence of the feuds between the Geraldines and Butlers, the Bishop of Meath was deputed by the Parliament to inform the King, Edward IV., as to the state of the country. The Bishop being very inimical to the Geraldines, the Earl sent some of his friends to state his case to the King, and was so successful that he was in that year appointed Lord Deputy.

* Annals of the Four Masters.

This appointment was soon after cancelled, as the King wished to set aside both the rival factions, and Henry Lord Grey of Codnor was sent over as Lord Deputy, with a guard of 300 men-at-arms and a company of archers.

The letters, dismissing the Earl from his office, being sealed with the King's private seal, he refused to obey them, and summoned a Parliament at Naas, on the Friday after the feast of St. Petronilla the Virgin, in which an Act was passed authorizing "the Lord Justice Gerol, Earl of Kildare, to adjourn and prorogue Parliament at pleasure, while necessarily employed against the insurgents."* He prorogued this Parliament several times. At the same time Lord Portlester, father-in-law to the Earl, carried off the great seal, and Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, the Constable of Dublin Castle, refused to deliver up that fortress to the new Deputy. Lord Grey then called a Parliament in Dublin, declared the great seal cancelled, and summoned the Constable to surrender the Castle. In the midst of these contentions the death of the Duke of Clarence, the Lord Lieutenant, caused a vacancy in the office of Lord Deputy. When the intelligence of his death reached Ireland, the Council assembled and elected the Earl Lord Justice; but in the meanwhile the King sent a new commission to Lord Grey. Soon after the King summoned both the Earl and Lord Grey to appear before him, when the latter, tired of these proceedings, resigned his office, and the Earl was appointed Lord Deputy to Richard Duke of Gloucester by a commission, which was to last for four

* *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, pt. vi. p. 2.

years, dated 5th May, 1480, and issued under the Duke's patent, and sealed with the King's privy seal. The Earl covenanted by indenture to keep the realm safely, and for that purpose was to have £600 per annum to maintain eighty mounted archers, and forty mounted spearsmen.

He held a Parliament in Dublin soon after, in which the export of hawks from Ireland was prohibited, except on the payment of a high duty.

It was also enacted about that time, that there should be no correspondence between the inhabitants of the Pale and the Irish ; and at the same time an Act was passed to naturalize "the O'Neill," who had married the Earl's sister.

The Earl, as Lord Deputy, was distinguished by the vigour of his administration, but, at the same time, as one of the most powerful chiefs without the Pale, he took part in the dissensions among the Irish.

In this year, 1480, he, in consequence of the depredations of the O'Mores, made a "hosting" into their country of Leix, attended by the Mayor, Bailiffs, and many of the citizens of Dublin ; and soon after invaded Tyrone, in support of his nephew, Con O'Neill, Roydamna, or heir-apparent to the principality, whose claims were opposed by another branch of the O'Neills ; he, however, returned without having accomplished his object.

In 1483, on the accession of Richard III., he was continued as Lord Deputy.

In 1484, his brother Thomas was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland for life.

In the same year the Earl received from Parliament a subsidy of 13s. 4d. out of every ploughland, towards defraying the charges incurred in serving against the Irish. And an act was passed establishing free warren in the manor of Maynooth for the Earl.*

In 1485, the Earl gave his daughter Lady Margaret in marriage to Pierce Butler, heir presumptive to the Earldom of Ormonde, and afterwards eighth Earl.

In that year, on the accession of Henry VII., the Earl, though a firm adherent of the House of York, was continued in his office of Lord Deputy, and held a Parliament at Trim.

At that time Sir James of Ormonde, who was illegitimate son of James, the fifth Earl of Ormonde, and who acted as Chief of the Butlers, as his uncle Thomas, the seventh Earl, resided chiefly in England, and had committed the custody of his castles and estates to him, was at feud with Sir Pierce Butler. The Earl of Kildare, who naturally supported his son-in-law, in consequence addressed, in 1486, the following letter, which is preserved in the Tower of London, to the Earl of Ormonde :—

“ MY RIGHT WURSHIPFUL COSYN,

“ I recommaund me unto you. It iss that your cousyn James Ormond doth publysh in all places that he hath your interest and title in all your lands here, by reason whereof he hath brought into the Counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary the O'Brenes, with diverse others Irishe enemys, and theretwo destroyed the Kyngs sujetts, and spareth no

* D'Alton, MS.

churches ne religious places, but hath spoyled them. And because he groundeth hym on the Kyngs auctoritie, and your likewise, I suffre hym theryn so to do for fere of the Kyng's displees. And what your mynd and enterest is, or shalbe, in this matter, yif it like you to certifie me thereof, I will do what I kan for the reformation of the same.

"Geven under my signet at Kilmaynham, the 16th day of January.

"Your Cosyn,

"GERALD, ERLE OF KYLDARE.

*"To my Right Worshipful Cousyn,
Thomas, Erle of Ormond."**

On the 2nd of February, 1486, the Earl was at Mass in Christ Church Cathedral, when he received the announcement of the King's marriage with Elizabeth of York. He at once communicated it to the Archbishop of Dublin, and made the Prior say another Mass for the King and Queen.

In May, the King suspecting that the Earl was engaged in a plot against him, wrote to command his attendance in England. The Earl, however, summoned a Parliament, and induced the Lords, on the 4th June, 1486, to send letters to the King, representing that in the affairs about to be discussed the Lord Deputy's presence was absolutely required.†

At that time Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of George Duke of Clarence, and the last male Plantagenet, was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Early in 1486, a

* Hist. of St. Canice Cathedral, p. 192.

† Ware's Annals.

report was spread that he had made his escape. In 1487, Lambert Simnel, who represented himself to be the young Prince, landed in Dublin with several English noblemen, and a force of 2,000 German troops, sent by the Duchess of Burgundy. The Earl of Kildare at once acknowledged him as the real heir to the throne, and his example was followed by almost the whole of the Pale. It is remarkable that the Irish annalists also have always considered him as the true Earl of Warwick. He was proclaimed King by the title of Edward VI., and on Whitsunday was taken to the Cathedral of Christ Church, where in the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Chancellor, and many nobles and chiefs of the realm, after his title had been set forth in a sermon, preached by the Bishop of Meath, the ceremony of coronation was performed with much solemnity, a crown borrowed from the statue of the Virgin, in St. Mary's Church, near " Dame Gate," being placed on his head. He was then, as was the custom in the Irish inaugurations, carried from the Cathedral to the Castle, on the shoulders of a gigantic man called "Great Darcy of Platten." A Parliament was then summoned, which passed several Acts ; and the invasion of England being resolved on, the Earl of Kildare and other great lords raised a large force of Irish and Anglo-Irish, which, with the Germans, was placed under the command of the Earl of Lincoln, the son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. The Chancellor, Thomas Fitz Gerald, resigned his office in order to accompany the expedition. They sailed from Dublin, in June, 1487, and landing at Fouldrey in Lancashire, marched into Yorkshire, and thence to Stoke in Nottinghamshire, where meeting King

Henry's forces, a battle ensued in which they were defeated, the Earl of Lincoln and Thomas Fitz Gerald being slain, and Simnel taken prisoner.*

The Earl of Kildare, called by the King "our rebel," was so powerful in Ireland that he did not even then despair of regaining the royal favour. He and the other lords of the Pale sent letters to the King acknowledging their crime and imploring pardon. Henry, aware of the Earl's influence over both the lords of the Pale and the Irish chiefs, not only thought it advisable to pardon him, but retained him in his office of Chief Governor of Ireland.

In 1488, the King sent over the comptroller of his household, Sir Richard Edgecomb, with a guard of 500 men, to receive the oaths of allegiance of his Irish subjects. Sir Richard first landed at Waterford, when the citizens hearing that he had brought the royal pardon for the Earl of Kildare, prayed that they might be exempt from his jurisdiction as Lord Deputy, as they feared that he would otherwise take vengeance for their refusal to join in the rebellion.† Having re-embarked Sir Richard landed at Malahide, and reached Dublin on the 5th July, and was met at the gate of the Monastery of Black Friars, where he was to reside, by the Mayor and citizens. The Earl was then absent on a pilgrimage, and only returned, accompanied by 200 cavalry, seven days after, on the 12th. He immediately sent the Bishop of Meath to the Commissioner to announce his arrival, and to invite him to his house. As Lord Deputy,

* Hume's Hist. of Eng.

† Harris's Hibernica, p. 61.

he lived in St. Thomas' Abbey, commonly called Thomas Court. Sir Richard was there received by the Earl and other lords who had supported Simnel, in the great chamber of the abbey, and delivered to the Earl the King's letters "without reverence or courtesy," and made a short speech "not without some bitterness." The Earl replied coldly ; and as some of the lords of the Council were absent, further business was deferred. The Earl then went to Maynooth, and Sir Richard returned to his lodgings. The next day being Sunday, Sir Richard went to Christ Church Cathedral, where a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Meath, who had in the same place preached Simnel's coronation sermon. On Monday, the 14th July, Sir Richard, at the Earl's "especial entreaty," went to Maynooth Castle, and remaining there three days, "had right good cheer ;" the Earl promising that he would conform himself in all things to the King's pleasure. On the 15th, Sir Richard "had great cheer of the Earl." Many of the chief lords and others of the Council came to Maynooth, and "had great communications amongst themselves," but nothing further was done. On the 16th, the Earl and his Council still delaying, Sir Richard was much displeased, and "told them right plainly and sharply of their unfitting demeaning." In the evening they returned to Dublin. On the 17th, the Earl and the other lords "kept great council at Thomas Court, and there agreed to become the King's true subjects," and offered "to be bound in as good surety as could be devised by the laws ;" but would not agree to the bond proposed by Sir Richard, which declared their estates forfeited unless they continued faithful to the

King. On the 18th, as they all declared that "they would become Irish every of them," rather than sign the bond, Sir Richard at last consented to allow them instead to be sworn on the sacrament to bear true allegiance. On the 19th, he sent them the form of oath, to which on Sunday the 20th they agreed. On the 21st, the Commissioner met the lords, assembled in Council, in the great chamber of Thomas Court, called the "King's Chamber," where the Earl did homage, when Sir Richard placed round his neck a gold chain, "the Collar of the King's Livery," which the King had sent as a token of his entire reconciliation. The other lords did homage also. They then repaired to another chamber, where, while Mass was said, the Earl was delivered from the excommunication. He then took the oath of allegiance, holding his hand over the host, divided into three parts on the patten, and which Sir Richard had been careful to have consecrated by his own chaplain. They went thence into the church of the monastery, where "the Archbishop of Dublin began a Te Deum, and the choir with the organs sung it up solemnly, and at that time all the bells of the church rang." The Earl and the other lords afterwards dined with Sir Richard at the Black Friars, the Earl wearing the chain both going and returning through the city. On the 23rd, Sir Richard having held communication with the Earl and Council in the monastery of All-Hallows, rode to Drogheda. On the 28th, he was again in Dublin expecting letters from the Council and the Earl's certificate of allegiance. On the 29th the Earl returned to the Priory of All-Hallows, and on the 30th delivered to Sir Richard,

in the church of "Our Lady of the Dames," his certificate on oath, sealed with his arms, and Sir Richard gave him in return the King's pardon under the great seal. Sir Richard departed on the same day, but was detained more than a week at Dalkey before he could put to sea.*

In the same year, 1488, the Earl led an army into the territory of Moy-cashel, in Westmeath, "and he demolished the castle of Bille-ratha (Balrath) upon the sons of Murtragh Macgeoghegan, after having brought ordnance against it."† This is the first mention of the use of cannon in Ireland.

"In this year, for a great rarity, were sent to the Earl of Kildare six hand guns (muskets) out of Germany, which his guard, during the time they stood sentry, bore before his habitation, standing in the great hall at the entrance to his house, or quarters, at Thomas Court."‡

In 1489, the opponents of the Earl having petitioned the King to grant them preferment, in order to counter-balance his influence, he sent his friend the Bishop of Meath to England to plead his cause. The King in consequence summoned all the lords of Ireland to his court at Greenwich, where they observed the following precedence:—the Earls of Kildare and Ormonde, the Viscounts of Buttevant, Fermoy, and Gormanston, and the Lords Birmingham of Athenry, Courcy of Kinsale, Nugent of Delvin, Fleming of Slane, Plunket of Killeen, St. Lawrence of Howth, Barnewall of Trimleston, and Plunket of Dunsany. The Earl of Desmond and

* Sir Richard Edgecomb's Voyage in Harris's Hibernica.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

‡ Ware's Annals.

Lord Kerry were not present. The King received them very graciously, and among other things said to those lords who had supported Simnel, that "they would at last crown apes should he be long absent." He then confirmed to them his full pardon, and went, accompanied by them, in solemn procession to the church, after which he entertained them at a splendid banquet, where he caused Simnel to wait upon them as butler, and at last dismissed them with marks of favour and confidence.*

In 1491, "a great war between Con O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and they went to the Lord Justice, the Earl of Kildare, but they returned without peace."† This feud arose in consequence of O'Neill's demand, "Send me tribute, or else—," and O'Donnell's answer, "I owe you no tribute, and if—." In November, the Earl held a Parliament at Trim.‡

In 1492, "Con M'Art O'Connor was slain by the people of the Earl of Kildare, for having in jest thrown a pole at the Earl."§ They appear to have mistaken Con's intention. In that year the Earl was removed from his office of Lord Deputy, being suspected of plotting against the King. Soon after, Calvagh, son of O'Connor Faly, having been killed by a follower of the Earl of Ormonde, called "Master Gart," the latter was imprisoned by the Earl of Kildare. This act appears to have renewed the feud between the Geraldines and Butlers.

In that year (1492), the Earl of Kildare, thinking

* Ware's Annals.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

‡ Ware's Annals.

§ Annals of the Four Masters.

that the people of Dublin were too much under the influence of the Lord Treasurer, Sir James of Ormonde, induced them to meet him on Oxmantown Green. In the course of the discussion a dispute arose, and several citizens were slain. The Earl then sent part of his cavalry over the river, to enter the city by St. James's Gate, but some of the citizens seeing them approach, shut the gates. It appears, however, that Ship-street, which was outside the wall of the city, was burnt.* The Earl then marched through the Pale, destroying the property of the Butlers and their supporters. In revenge, Sir James of Ormonde, with the O'Briens and other allies, plundered and burnt the county and town of Kildare, and encamped in the wood of Thomas Court, on the south side of Dublin. The Earl and Sir James then agreed to have a conference, which is thus described by Holinshed :†—

“Kildare appoynted the meeting to bee at St. Patrick, his Church; where as they were ripping up one to the other their mutual quarrels, rather resenting the damage they sustained, than acknowledging the injuries they offered, the citizens and Ormonde his army fell at some jarre, for the oppression and exaction with whiche the souldiers surcharged them. With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a round knot of archers rusht into the church, meaning to have murdered Ormond, as the captain and belweather of al these lawlesse rabble. The Earl of Ormond (Sir James) suspecting that he had been betrayed, fled to the chapitre house, put too the

* Annals of the Four Masters.

† History of Ireland, p. 77.

dore, sparring it with might and mayne. The citizens in their rage, imagining that every post in the church had been one of the souldiers, shot habbe or nabbe at random up to the roode-loft and to the chancell, leaving some of their arrows sticking in the image. Kildare pursuing Ormond to the chapitre house dore, undertooke, on his honour, that he should receive no villanie. Whereupon the recluse craving his lordships hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in the chapitre house dore pierced in a trice, to the end both the Earls should have shaken hands and bee reconciled. But Ormonde surmising that this drift was intended for some further treacherie, that if he would stretche out his hand it had been per case chopt off, refused that proffer, untill Kildare stretched in his hand to him, and so the dore was opened, they both embraced, the storme appeased, and all their quarrells for the presente rather discontinued than ended."

In consequence of the outrage committed by the citizens, in shooting their arrows in the church, a Legate was sent from Rome, who only absolved them from the sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced against them, on condition that in future "the Maier of Dublin should go barefoot through the citie, in open procession before the Sacrament, on Corpus Christi day, which penitente satisfaction was after, in every such procession, duly accomplished." The door, in which the hole was cut on this occasion, is still preserved in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

In 1493, it having been reported that Perkin Warbeck was in correspondence with the Earls of Kildare

and Desmond, the former Earl hastened to England to rebut the charge. The King, in reply, merely said that he was about to send over Sir Edward Poynings as Lord Deputy. He also informed the King of France that the Earl of Kildare and other lords, having come over to consult with him on the state of the kingdom, he had determined "to set his country of Ireland in order."*

In September, 1494, Sir Edward arrived in Dublin. The Earl wishing to remove any suspicion against him, accompanied the Deputy against the northern Irish, who supported Warbeck's claims. The Deputy, however, was informed of a conspiracy between the Earl and O'Hanlon, chief of the territory in which they then were, to assassinate him, and being confirmed in his suspicions by the intelligence that the Earl's brother, James Fitz Gerald, had risen in rebellion, and had seized the Castle of Carlow, returned from the North, and laying siege to the castle, took it at the end of a week.

He then determined to act vigorously against the Geraldines, and summoned a Parliament at Drogheda, in which were passed an Act attainting the Earl and his adherents, and another, 10 Henry VII. c. 20, to abolish his war-cry and motto "Crom-a-boo," with those of other great families (Appendix II.).

After the attainder the Earl's power was much reduced. Being at feud with Plunket of Rathmore, he was defeated by him in several skirmishes, and at last could not show himself in Meath, nor remain more than three

* Moore's Hist. of Ir.

nights together in any part of Kildare. Having at length, with twelve horsemen, encountered Plunket with twenty, he fought so resolutely that the latter, with most of his men, fell. "After that he was followed by numbers."^{*}

The Earl was also at enmity with his former friend, the Bishop of Meath; and one day chased him into a church, to which he had fled for sanctuary. The Earl ordered him to come out, and on his refusal, entered sword in hand, and going to where he was kneeling in the chancel, swore "By St. Bride (his usual oath), were it not he knew his prince would be offended with him, he could find it in his heart to lay his sword on his shaven crown." And carrying him off, kept him prisoner, until the Lord Deputy demanded his release.

Having been promised a pardon for these and other offences, the Earl went to Dublin, but was arrested in the evening, and sent in a bark, which had been kept in readiness, to England, the Deputy not wishing to pass judgment upon him.

He was detained for two years in the tower of London, within which time his Countess, Alison, daughter of Sir Rowland Eustace, of Harristown, created Baron of Portlester, died of grief, on the 22nd November, 1494, and was buried in the Grey Abbey at Kilcullen, which her father had founded.

The Earl was at length brought before the Council, and being accused, among other acts of violence, of having forced the Bishop of Meath from the sanctuary, he

* Lodge.

said, "He was not sufficiently learned to make answer to such weighty matters. The Bishop was a learned man, and so was not he, and therefore might easily outdo him in argument." The King then said, "He might choose a counsellor." The Earl replied: "I doubt I shall not have that good fellow that I would choose." The King assured him he should, and added, that "It concerned to get counsell that was very good, as he doubted his cause was very bad." The Earl replied: "I will choose the best in England." "And who is that?" asked the King. "Marry, the King himself," quoth the Earl, "and by St. Bride, I will choose no other." At this the King laughed, and turning to the Council, said, "A wiser man might have chosen worse." The Earl was then accused of having burnt the Cathedral of Cashel, in consequence of a feud with the Archbishop, and many witnesses were present to prove the fact; but contrary to their expectation, he not only confessed it, but exclaimed: "By my troth, I would never have done it, but I thought the Bishop was in it." The Archbishop being present, and one of the busiest of the accusers, the King laughed heartily, and was so favourably impressed by the bluntness and frankness of the Earl, that on the Bishop of Meath exclaiming, "All Ireland cannot rule this man," he at once replied: "Then he shall rule all Ireland."* O'Hanlon, with whom the Earl was accused of conspiracy to assassinate Sir E. Poynings, was also present, and cleared him on oath from the charge.

The Earl was restored to his honors and estates, and appointed Lord Deputy, by letters patent, dated the 6th

* Cox.

August, 1496. The King, however, retained his eldest son Gerald as a hostage.

In 1496, the Earl married his second wife, Elizabeth,* eldest daughter of Oliver St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze.

Immediately after his return to Ireland, he held a Parliament at Castledermot. He soon after marched against the O'Briens of Thomond, and took by assault the Castles of Feyback, in Co. Clare, belonging to the MacNamaras, and Ballynetty, in Co. Limerick. While in Limerick, he on the 26th August, by the King's orders, pardoned Maurice, Earl of Desmond, for all offences against the crown. On his return to Dublin, he was reconciled to the Archbishop of Armagh. He also about that time restored the church at Cashel, which he had burnt.

In that year, 1496, died Lord Portlester, and was buried in the Abbey at Kilcullen, which he had founded. His manor of Portlester passed to his son-in-law, the Earl of Kildare, who soon after embellished the church of the neighbouring Abbey of Bective, and paved it with encaustic tiles, on some of which are his arms and motto, "Si Dieu plet, Crom a bo."

In 1497, Perkin Warbeck, having been obliged to leave Scotland, landed at Cork, where he and his Irish allies were opposed by the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by them. The King, Henry VII., in a letter to Sir Gilbert Talbot, dated at Woodstock, writes: "that Perkin Warbeck, after landing in Ireland, had been taken by his cousins, the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, if he and his wife had not secretly stolen away."†

* She was first cousin to Henry VII. † Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi. 503.

In consequence of this, the Earl received from the King a grant, dated 25th August, 1497, of the manors of Dunchurch, Avon-basset, Kingston alias Kingsford, Ullenhall, and several others in the Co. Warwick, and of the manor and advowson of the church of Skennington, in the Co. Gloucester, to him and Elizabeth St. John, his wife, and to their heirs male. These lands devolved on their son, Sir James Fitzgerald, of Leixlip, but on his attainder, in 1536, reverted to the crown. In 1537, a private Act was passed, whereby certain letters patent granting the manor of Leixlip to the Earl, his Countess Elizabeth St. John, and their heirs male was revoked, and all interest in the same vested in the crown.*

In 1498, the Earl marched into Ulster to assist his nephew, Turlogh O'Neill, and his ally, Hugh O'Donnell. He took Dungannon "with great guns," and Omagh.† On his return from the North, he went to Cork, whose inhabitants had favoured Warbeck, and placed strong garrisons there and at Kinsale.

In March, 1499, he invaded Connaught, and reduced the Castles of Athleague, Roscommon, Tulsk, and Castle-reagh.‡ In that year Hugh Roe O'Donnell went into the Pale on a visit to the Lord Deputy, and returned with the Earl's son Henry in fosterage.§ On the 26th August, the Earl held a Parliament at Castledermot.

In 1500, he seized the Castle of Kinard, in the Co. Tyrone, and appointed his nephew Turlogh O'Neill, governor of it.||

In that year it was proposed to unite further the houses

* D'Alton's Kildare, MS.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

‡ Ware's Annals.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

of Kildare and Ormonde, by a marriage between Lady Eleanor Fitz Gerald, and George St. Leger, grandson and heir general of Thomas, seventh Earl of Ormonde. This probably fell to the ground, when Kildare ascertained that the Irish title and estates were entailed on Sir Pierce Butler, the heir male. This fact appears from a later document preserved in Kilkenny Castle, dated 29th November, 1516, recording at the request of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, and Margaret his wife, the testimony of Master James White, prebendary of "Maynott," and vicar of Ardee, who deposed that "about sixteen years before, or more, he was sent by Gerald, of good memory, Earl of Kildare, to the King of England, about certain matters, when he met Thomas, of similar good memory, Earl of Ormonde, at his mansion in London, when they treated of a marriage between George Sayntleger and Elenor, the daughter of the said Gerald; the deponent then asked the said Thomas who should be Earl of Ormonde, after his death; and Thomas said Sir Piers Butler, knight, then dwelling in Ireland, should be Earl, because that dignity and earldom, was entailed on heirs male after his death. And he said that he could not with a safe conscience do otherwise, or ever break or change that entail."*

In May, 1503, he went to England to give the King an account of the affairs of Ireland, and returned in August ("magno cum honore et novis instructionibus"), bringing with him his son Gerald and his bride, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Zouche and Elizabeth,

* Hist. of St. Canice, p. 205.

co-heiress of Lord Grey of Codnor, and was received in Ireland with great congratulations of the people. He then made another expedition into Ulster, where he took and destroyed the Castle of Belfast, and placed a garrison in Carrickfergus Castle, and appointed Staunton governor.*

In that year (1503), the volume called "The Earl of Kildare's Red Book," was compiled for the Earl. It contains copies of grants, title-deeds, and other documents belonging to him, and is now in the possession of the Duke of Leinster.

On the 28th February, 1504, his eldest son, Gerald, was appointed High Treasurer of Ireland, and was on that day sworn in Dublin before the Deputy and the Council, to administer his office well and faithfully.

In 1504, Ulick McWilliam Burke, Lord of Clanricarde, who had married Lady Eustacia, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, but who had treated her with such neglect as to cause bitter animosity between himself and the Earl, formed a confederacy with several Irish Chiefs to oppose the authority of the King. The Earl in consequence assembled a large force, and in August marched into Connaught. With Clanricarde were O'Brien of Thomond, MacNamara, O'Carroll, and O'Connor of Connaught. With the Earl were the Earl of Desmond, Viscount Gormanston, and Lords Slane, Delvin, Killeen, Howth, Trimleston, and Dunsany, John Blake, Mayor of Dublin, O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, Art O'Neill, M'Dermot of Moylurg, Magennis, O'Ferrall, Bishop of Ardagh,

* Ware.

O'Connor Faly, M'Mahon, O'Hanlon, O'Reilly, O'Kelly, and even the Burkes of Mayo. On the 19th August, the Earl's army came in sight of the enemy, whose whole force was drawn up on Cnock-Tuagh (Hill of Axes), now Knockdoe, about seven miles from Galway. Some of the Lords of the Pale, alarmed at the number of the enemy, who, it is said, had the largest army ever assembled since the invasion of 1169, urged the Earl to offer terms of peace. He, however, refused, and having drawn up his army in order of battle, he encouraged his men, telling them that the honor of their sovereign as well as their own safety depended upon that day's service, as they were in a country unknown to most of them. The first attack was made by the forces of Clanricarde, who, rushing furiously forward, were received with a volley of arrows by the men of Leinster, who used their bows with terrible effect. As the assailants fell back in confusion, the Earl ordered his van-guard to advance. His son Gerald, who commanded the reserve, seeing the main body engaged, did not wait for orders, but charged at the head of his men "in such a brave and resolute manner as no man could behave better than he did." However, by so doing, he left the baggage unprotected, and it was taken by the Irish horse, and some gentlemen were made prisoners. The following is a description of this battle by the Irish Annalists :—"Far away from the troops were heard the violent onset of the martial chiefs, the vehement efforts of the champions, the charge of the royal heroes, the noise of the lords, the clamour of the troops when endangered, the shouts and exultations of the youths, the

sound made by the falling of brave men, and the triumphing of nobles over plebeians." They say it was "a fierce battle such as had not been known in latter times." "Of the nine battalions (Clanricarde's) which were in solid array, there survived only one broken battalion. A countless number of the Lord Justice's forces were also slain, though they routed the others before them."* The result of the attack was to drive the enemy from the field with immense slaughter, the number of the slain having been estimated from 4,000 to 9,000. This is probably an exaggeration, but the battle of Cnock-Tuagh certainly broke the strength of the Western and Southern septa. O'Brien fell, and two sons and a daughter of Clanricarde were taken prisoners. It is said that Lord Gormanston, elated with success, turning to the Earl of Kildare, said, "We have for the most number killed our enemies; and if we do the like with all the Irish that we have with us, it were a good deed."† The Earl proposed to O'Donnell to march immediately upon the town of Galway, but that chief advised him to encamp upon Knockdoe till the following day, to attend to the wounded and dead, and to collect their men who were scattered in the pursuit. On the next day they advanced to Galway, which surrendered without resistance. After remaining there some days to rest the army, they marched to Athenry, which also surrendered. The invading forces then separated, O'Donnell going to the North, and the Earl retiring with his army to the Pale, "where he bestowed thirty tuns of wine upon his soldiers."‡

* Annals of the Four Masters. † Book of Howth. ‡ Cox.

The Earl, on arriving in Dublin, sent the Archbishop of Dublin to give an account of this battle, and other public affairs, to the King, who was so well pleased with the success of the Earl that he created him a Knight of the Garter. He was installed at Windsor on the 4th May, in the following year, 1505, by his proxy, Sir John Williams, who was very liberal to the officers. "Therll of Kyldare was installed by Sir John Williams, knyght hys Procurer at High Masse tyme, wiche gave to the officers of Arms 5 marks and his gown to Garter (King at Arms)."*

The Earl at that time built several castles to strengthen the possessions of the crown ; among others those of Athy, Castledermot, Rathvilly, and Lincarrig.

On the 1st November, 1506, he made an offering to the Cathedral of Christ Church of "two vestments of cloth of gold tissue."†

Among the Gherardini papers is the following letter, written by the Earl, in May, 1507 :—

"To be given to all the family of the Gherardini, noble in fame and virtue, dwelling in Florence, our beloved brethren in Florence. Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of the Kingdom of Ireland, sends greeting to all the family of Gherardini dwelling in Florence.

"Most grateful to us have been your letters to us, most illustrious men. From them we have learned to know the fervour of the fraternal love that you bear to your own blood. But in order to increase your joy

* Antis' Register of the Garter, vol. ii. p. 243.

† Obits of Christ Church, p. 48.

still more, I will briefly inform you of the state of your relations in these parts. Know, then, that my predecessors and ancestors passed from France into England, and having remained there for some time, they, in the year 1140 (1170), arrived in this island of Ireland, and by their swords obtained great possessions, and achieved great feats of arms; and up to the present day have increased and multiplied into many branches and families, insomuch that I, by the grace of God, possess by hereditary right the earldom, and am Earl of Kildare, holding diverse castles and manors, and by the liberality of our Most Serene Lord the King of England, I am now his Deputy in the whole of Ireland, during the pleasure of his Majesty, an honour frequently obtained heretofore by my father and my predecessors. There is also a relation of ours in these parts called the Earl of Desmond, under whose lordship there are 100 miles, in length, of country. Our house has increased beyond measure, in a multitude of barons, knights, and noble persons, holding many possessions, and having under their command many persons. We are most desirous to know the deeds of our ancestors, so that if you have in your possession any history, we request you to communicate it to us. We wish to know the origin of our house, and their numbers, and the names of your ancestors; whether there are any of them settled in France, and who of our family inhabit the Roman territory. I also wish to know the transactions of the present time, for it gives me great joy always to hear news of our house. If there is anything that we can procure for you through our labour and industry, or anything that you have not

got, such as hawks, falcons, horses, or dogs for the chase, I beg you will inform me of it, as I shall, in every possible way, endeavour to obey your wishes. God be with you, and do you love us in return. From our Castle of Castledermot, 27th day of May, 1507,

“GERALD,

“Chief in Ireland of the Family of the Geraldines,
Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of the Most
Serene King of England, in Ireland.”

It is remarkable that about that time, Lodovico Ariosto in his “*Orlando Furioso*,” made mention of the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, as follows :—

“Or guarda gl'Ibernesi appreso il piano :
Sono due squadre; e il conte di Childera
Mena la prima; e il conte di Desmonda
Da fieri, monti ha tratta la seconda.
Nello stendardo, il primo ha un pino ardente;
L'altro nel bianco una vermiglia banda.”

Canto x., stanza 86.

In 1508 the Earl convoked a Parliament in Dublin, in which a subsidy was granted to him to be levied on both clergy and laity.*

On some of the coins, groats, and half-groats issued during the last five years of the reign of Edward IV., and also on some groats of Henry VII., there is on each side of the shield, containing the royal arms, a smaller shield bearing a Saltire, the arms of the Earl of Kildare, then Lord Deputy.†

Henry VIII., on his accession, in April, 1509, sent letters patent to the Earl reappointing him Lord Justice.

* Ware's Annals.

† Trans. of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xix. Ant. p. 31.

On the receipt of these, the Earl assembled the Council, and having summoned the Mayor and Aldermen, proceeded with them through the principal streets, proclaiming the King's accession with sound of trumpets, ringing of bells, and bonfires.*

In that year he advanced with his forces into Ulster, to the assistance of his grand-sons, the sons of Con O'Neill, and took and razed the Castle of Omagh.

In 1510 he was appointed Lord Deputy. He then undertook an expedition into Munster with a large army, raised in the Pale, and accompanied by Hugh O'Donnell of Tyrconnell. Having marched over the whole of Desmond, and taken several castles, he was, on his return, met at Monetar, in the County of Limerick, by a large force under James, son of the Earl of Desmond, Turlough O'Brien of Thomond, and McWilliam Burke. In the engagement that ensued many fell on both sides, but the Lord Deputy's army being laden with spoil, and tired with a long march, suffered most. The conflict lasted till night. On the next morning he held a council of war, in which a retreat was resolved on, and accomplished in good order.†

In 1512, he again took and destroyed the Castle of Belfast, which had been rebuilt after its destruction in 1503, and distributed the spoils among his soldiers.

In that year he built St. Mary's Chapel, in the Choir of Christ Church, in Dublin.

In 1513, he marched against Lemyvannan, or O'Carroll's Castle, now Leap Castle, in the King's County; but as he was watering his horse in the River Greese, at

* Ware's Annals.

† Ibid.

Kilkea, he was shot by one of the O'Mores of Leix. In consequence of this wound he moved slowly by Athy to Kildare, where, after lingering for a few days, he died on the 3rd September. His body was carried to Dublin, and buried on the 16th October, before the high altar in his own chapel at Christ Church; where his arms within the Garter, and those of his wife, with the arms of many of his predecessors and successors, were placed, until they were defaced by William Moreton, Bishop of Kildare, and Dean of Christ Church, when he repaired the church between 1677 and 1705. The site of St. Mary's Chapel is now occupied by buildings connected with the cathedral.

This Earl called by the Irish "the Great Earl," was "of tall stature and goodly presence; very liberal and merciful; of strict piety; mild in his government; passionate, but easily appeased." The Irish annalists describe him as "a knight in valour, and princely and religious in his word and judgments."* His name alone awed his enemies more than an army. He not only built castles, but planted colonies in various places, and rebuilt ruined towns. He had been altogether thirty-three years Chief Governor of Ireland.†

Holinshed says he was "a mightie man of stature, full of honoure and courage, who had bin Lord Deputie and Lord Justice of Ireland three-and-thirtie yeares. Kildare was in government milde, to his enemies sterne. He was open and playne, hardly able to rule himself when he was moved; in anger not so sharp as short,

* Annals of the Four Masters.

† Camden.

being easily displeased and sooner appeased. Being in a rage with certayne of his servants for faults they committed, one of his horsemen offered Maister Boyce (a gentleman that reteyned to him) an Irish hobby (horse), on condition that he would plucke an heare from the Earle hys berde. Boyce, taking the proffer at rebound, stept to the Earle (with whose good nature hee was thoroughly acquainted), parching in the heate of his choler, and sayd : ‘So it is, and if it like youre good Lordeshippe, one of your horsemen promised me a choyce horse, if I snippe one heare from your berde.’ ‘Well,’ quoth the Earle, ‘I agree thereto ; but if thou plucke anye more than one, I promise thee to bring my fyst from thine eare.’ This olde Earle, being soone hotte, and soone cold, was of the Englishe well beloved ; a good Justicier, a suppressor of the rebels, a warrioure incomparable ; towards the nobles, that he fansyed not, somewhat headlong and unruly. Notwithstanding hys simplicities in peace, he was of that valoure and policie in warre, as his name bred a greater terrour to the Irish than other mens armyes. In hys warres hee used for policie, a retchlesse kynde of diligence, or a headye carelesnesse, to the end hys souldyers should not faynte in theyr attempts, were the enemye never of so greate powr. Beyng Generall on the field of Knocktoe, where, in effect, all the Irish rebelles of Ireland were gathered againste the Englishe Pale, one of the Earle hys captaines presented him a bande of kearnes (Irish infantry), even as they were ready to joyne battayle, and withall demanded of the Earle in what service he would have them employed ? ‘Marry (quoth he), let them stande

by and gyve us the gaze.' Such was his courage that, notwithstanding his enemies were two to one, yet would hee sette so good a face on the matter, as his souldyers shoulde not once suspect that he needed or longed for any further help."*

By his will he bequeathed his best gown of cloth of gold purpurated to make sacerdotal vestments, and he bestowed the town of "Great Coporan," for the maintenance of the canon who should celebrate masses for his soul.†

His first wife, Alison Eustace, who died 22nd November, 1495, was buried in the New Abbey, at Kilcullen. She was daughter and co-heiress of Rowland, Baron of Portlester, by Maud, daughter of Jenico d'Artois. She brought into the family the manor of Portlester, in the County of Meath. By her he left one son, Gerald, his successor, and six daughters.

1st. Lady Eleanor, married first to Donald M'Carthy Reagh, Prince of Carbery, County of Cork, by whom she had four sons. After his death, Calvagh O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, demanded her in marriage, but she declined his offer. In 1536, however, when her nephew Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, required protection, she consented to become O'Donnell's wife, on condition that he should give shelter to the boy. She then took her nephew with her to Donegal, where she was married. After a year Lady Eleanor, suspecting that her husband intended to surrender Gerald to the English government, "being a wary and prudent woman," sent him away with his tutor to France, and then, refusing to remain

* Holinshed's Hist. of Ir.

† Obits. of Christ Church, p. 39.

with O'Donnell after his treacherous conduct, returned to her son's country in the County of Cork.

On the 4th of May, 1545, she wrote to the King the following letter :—

“ My mooste humble and lowly duetie premised. It may pleas youe, mooste dradd Sovereign Lord, to be advertized that, wheare I acknowledge my selfe highly to have offendid your Princely Magnificence and, rather by ignorauncie then presumption, also committed the thinge that stode not with the duetie of myne allegiaunce; yet, considering youre mooste kingly clemencye extended to all soortes, and such especially as with uncorrupte harte submytte themselves unto youre accustomed mercie, I, your Grace's humble oratrix and subjecte, mooste lowely beseeche youre Highnes, in the honoure of God, to remitt my seid offences; and, having respecte to my present unfayned repentaunce, to graunte me, poer gentlewoman, youre Majesty's mooste gracious pardone and forgivenes, which, for the better obteyning of the same, I have, thies twoo yeares past, continually made dilligent sute and request to youre Grace's Deputie and Counsaill here, to be petitioners to youre Majestie in my behalfe; yet for that thei have taken me to be an offendres, as my selfe confesse the same, and to have continued in the ferre parties of this youre realme, amonges the M'Charties, thei have refused to write unto youre Highnes in my behalf, and yet, in hoope bothe of youre princelye mercie, and my unfayned reconciliation, have graunted me saulf conduyte to repaier into youre Majestie's Englisshe Pale, and there to remeyne at a place by them assigned, till your Majestie's determynate

pleasure be further signified herein. It may, therefore, pleas youre mooste kingly goodnes, in graunting this my humble sute, as well as to consigne my warraunte sent herewith, with youre Majestie's mooste graciouse hande, as to signifie also youre high pleasure unto youre seid Deputie and Counsaill concerning the same; whereby I may not onely stonde in the assueraunce of your mooste graciouse pardone and remission for myne offences, but also freely reasorte within the bodye of youre seid realme, that thereby I might at lest avoide thoften suspecte, causeles conceived against me by continuall demoringe in th extreme confynes of this youre lande. That knoweth Almightye God, who long preserve youre mooste Noble Grace in all powers and folicitie to raighn.

"From Malahide besides Dublyn, the 4th of May.

"Your Majestie's mooste humble subjecte and beadeswoman,

"ALAYNOR FYTZ GERALD.*

"To the Kinges Moste Excellente Majestie."

In a letter from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to the Council in England, dated two days after, 6th May, 1545, is the following recommendation:—"It may also pleas youre noble Lordeshipes that the late Earl of Kildare's syster, M'Chartie Reagh's moder, whiche, for displeasure of her brethren and famylies juste ponnyschement, hathe ben taken to be a practyser and procurer of dyscentions and warres here, having made ofte suete unto us for her pardon, at this preasent upon

* State Papers, Temp. Henry VIII., vol. iii. p. 516.

our salve conducte (whiche we graunted her, in respecte of the tyme, to allure her from any practyse in the south parties, wheare greate brute ys of the arryvall of the Frenchemen), we shall beseeche youre most honorable good Lordeshipes that, accordingly considering she ys but a woman, and yet we, having regarde to her parentele, wolde not condescende to pardon her here, to move the Kinge's Majestie for his most gracious pardon to her, wherby she may repose herselfe, and so be putt out of feare, and thereby have occasion to relinquyshe her olde fantazies."* To this letter the Council in England replied on the 4th June, 1545:—"His Highnes is also pleased to pardon the Lord of Kyldare's suster."† She accordingly received a formal pardon for all offences committed by her against the crown.

Lady Eleanor's son by her first marriage succeeded his father as M'Carthy Reagh, and having married the daughter of M'Carthy More, succeeded him in his chieftaincy. Holinshed says of Lady Eleanor: "This noble woman was alwayes knowne and accounted of eche man, that was acquainted with hir conversation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse; in all hir actions, vertuous, and godley, and also in a good quarrel rather stout and stiffe."

2nd. Lady Margaret, married in 1485 to Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormonde, by whom she was mother of James, ninth Earl, and of Richard, first Viscount Mountgarret. Of this lady Holinshed says: "The Earle of Kildare, of good meaning to unite the houses in friend-

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 519.

† Ibid., 524.

ship, matched his sister, Margaret Fitz Giralde, with Pierce Butler, Earle of Osserie,* whom he also help to recover the Erldome of Ormond, into which, after the decease of Earle James, a bastarde Butler had by abatement intruded. Great and manifold were the miseries the Lady Margaret susteyned, hir husband Pierce Butler being so egrely pursued by the usurper, as hee durst not beare up head, but was forced to hover and lurke in wooddes and forrests. The noble woman being great with childe, and uppon necessitee constreyned to use a spare dyet (for hir onely sustenance was milke), she longed for wine, and calling hir Lord and a trusty servante of his, James White, to hir, she requested them both to help hir to some wyne, for she was not able any longer to endure so strieght a life. 'Truly Margaret,' quoth the Earle of Osserie, 'thou shalt have store of wyne within thys foure-and-twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me.' The nexte daye following, Pierce having intelligence that hys enemye, the base Butler, would have travayled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding hee were accompanied with sixe horsemenne, yet Pierce, havying none but his lackey, did forstalle hym in the way, and, with a courageous charge, gored the basterd through with his speare. Thys prosperous calm, succeeding the former boisterous storme, the Lady Margaret began to take hearte, his natural stoutnesse floted, as well by the remembrance of

* He surrendered the title of Ormonde at the King's request, and was created Earl of Ossory, but resumed afterwards the former title.

his noble birth, as by the intelligence of his honourable match.”*

“The Countess of Osserie, Kildare’s sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realm, had not her stomache over-ruled herselfe. Through the singular wisdom of this Countesse a lady of suche port, that all the estates of the realme couched to her, so politique that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice; man-like, tall of stature, very rich and bountiful, a bitter enemy, the only meane, at those dayes, whereby hir husband’s country was reclaymed from the sluttish and unclean Irish custome to the English habits, bedding, house-keeping, and civilitie. But to these virtues was yoked such a selfe-liking and such a majesty above the tenure of a subject, that for insurance thereof she sticked not to abuse her husband’s honour against her brother’s follye. Notwithstanding, I learn not that she practised his undoing (which ensued, and was to her undoubtedly a great haevinesse, as upon whom both the blemish thereof and the sustenance of that whole family depended after); but that she, by indirect meanes, wrought her brother out of credite to advance her husband, the common voyce and the thing itselfe speaketh.”† She is called “the Great Countess of Ormonde.” She survived her husband, who died in 1539, three years, and “led a most exemplary life for charity and devotion.” Stanihurst says, “she was a seure friend; a bitter enemy; hardly disliking where she fancied, not easily fancying where she disliked.” And a

* Holinshed, Hist. of Ir.

† Ibid.

modern author thus describes her:—"Margaret, Countess of Ormonde and Ossory, 'the fairest daughter' of the Earl of Kildare, was, unquestionably, one of the most remarkable women of her age and country. Large as is the place filled by the 'Red Earl' in the history of Ireland, it is a singular fact, that in the traditions of the peasantry of Kilkenny, his existence is utterly forgotten, whilst his consort stands vividly forth as 'the Countess,' or oftener as plain 'Mairgreed Gearoid,' forming with 'Cromwell' and the 'Danes,' a triad to whom almost everything marvellous, cunning, or cruel is attributed. She is the traditional 'builder,' as Cromwell is the traditional 'destroyer,' of nearly every castle in the district; and by the peasant's fireside, numberless are the tales told of her power, her wisdom, and—truth compels us to say—her oppressions."*

3rd. Lady Elizabeth, who married Christopher Fleming, Lord Slane. Her son James, Lord Slane, married his cousin, Lady Alice Fitz Gerald.

4th. Lady Alice, who married her cousin, Con More O'Neill, who in 1480 was naturalized by Act of Parliament. She also obtained a pardon from the King.

5th. Lady Eustacia. She married Ulick McWilliam Burke, Lord of Clanricarde.

6th. Lady Joan.

The Earl's second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver St. John of Lydiard-Tregoze, ancestor of Viscount Bolinbroke. She died 28th June, 1516.† By her the Earl had seven sons.

* Hist. of St. Canice Cath. p. 248.

† Ware's Annals.

1st, Henry, and 2nd, Thomas; both died before they were of age.

3rd. Sir James of Leixlip. He was a Knight of Rhodes, or St. John of Jerusalem. On the death of his father, in 1513, he succeeded to the estates in England, which had been granted to the Earl in 1497. In 1526 he was appointed deputy to his brother, the Lord Deputy. In a report (by whom not known) of the state of Ireland, to be laid before Henry VIII., is as follows: "The tyme th Erle of Kildaris brederne, and others of the Geraldynes, O'Neyle and O'Chonour, with all ther frindis, were appointed to invade and subdue the Kingis domynion, thois of th Erle of Kyldaris Privay Counsaile, which were assigned to be contrivers of this secrete purpoos (of which Sir Gerald Shaneson, Knight, was in maner principall and chief) could not pursude Sir Thomas (James) Fitzgerald, the Erle's second broder, and heire to the Lady Saint Johns, to condescende to their purpoos for a greate season. Sir Gerald Shaneson harde him so moche stike upon the Kinge. 'What, thou foole,' saide he, 'thou shalt be the more esteemed in Irelande, to take parte against the Kinge; for what haddest thou have been, if thy fader had not doon so? What was he sett by, untill he crowned a Kinge (Simnel) here; tooke Garthe, the Kingis capitayne, prisoner; hanged his son; resisted Ponengis and all Deputies; kyllid them of Dublin upon Oxmantowne Greene; wold suffer no man rule here for the Kinge but himselfe? Than the Kinge regarded him, made him Deputie, and married thy moder to him; orellis thou shouldest never have had foote of lande, where now thou maist dispende 400 marks by

yeere or above.”* On the 31st August, 1533, Sir James writes to the King, thanking him for his favour to himself and his brother Richard ; offers to go to Court, and says he is under Kildare’s displeasure for the services he rendered to Skeffington, the Lord Deputy.† His subsequent career and fate will be related in connexion with that of his nephew, the tenth Earl. All his property was forfeited to the crown on his attainder, in 1536. He married the daughter of the White Knight, and had by her a daughter, who married O’Toole of Imayle.

4th. Oliver of Killeigh, in the King’s County. He married Meawe, daughter of Cahir, chief of the O’Connors. His descendants are extinct in the male line.

5th. Richard, who married Maud, daughter of George Darcy, of Platen, but left no issue.

6th. Sir John, a Knight of St. John.

7th. Walter, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Lord Dunsany, but left no issue.

These five brothers were attainted of high treason, and executed with their nephew Thomas, Earl of Kildare, the 2nd February, 1536.

GERALD NINTH EARL.

Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, was born in 1487. He is said to have been one of the handsomest men of his time. He is called by the Irish annalists “Geroit Oge” (Gerald the Younger), and “Garrett McAlison,” after his mother, Alison Eustace.

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 174.

† Ibid., 179.

In 1496 he was detained by Henry VII. at his court, as a hostage for his father's fidelity.

In 1498, the following warrants were addressed by the king to Sir Robert Litton, keeper of the great wardrobe:

“ HENRY.

“ Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and of France and Lord of Irelande, to our trusty and well-beloved Knight and Counseller, Sir Robert Litton, our Undertresourer of England and Keeper of our grete warderobe, greting. Forsomuch as oure welbeloved servant Roger Lynden our Corvesor hath delivered by our special commaundement sithen the moneth of May, the XIIIth yere of our reigne, into thands of our trusty servant John Flygh, yoman of our warderobe of robes, these parcells folowing. That is to say for oure dearest son the Duc of York sixtene pair of double soled shone, oon pair of high pynsens, oon pair of slepers, with oon pair of low pynsens, oon pair of night buteeves, and oon pair of boutts. Item for our dearest daughters, the lady Margret fourteen pair of double soled shoon, and for the Lady Mary eight pair of single soled shoon and foure pair of double soled shoon. Item for the Lord of Kildares son, oon pair of boutts, oon pair of slepers, and two pair of pynsens. We, desiring the contentancy of our said Cordner in this particular, wol therefore and charge you that you incontintently paye and deliver unto him al that is justely due for the said parcells without any delay, and these our letters shalbe your waraunt. Given under our signet at our manoir of Grenewich, the VI. day of February the XIVth year of our reigne.”*

“HENRY. (By the King.)

“We wol and charge you that for the use of the son and heir of our cousin th Erle of Kyldare, ye deliver unto the bringer herof these parcells ensuyng. First, eight yards of black velvet for a glandekyn, furred with whyte bogy.* Two yards and a half of tawney medley for a gowne, furred with whyte bogy. Two doubletts, oon of black velvet and the other of tawney sattyn. Three shirts of sixten pense the elle. Two pair of tawney hosyn, and an other pair of crymsyn. An hatte and two bonetts, oon of crymsyn and the other blak. Two yards of sylk ryband for gyrdylls, and thre dosyn of sylk poynt. A pair of bots and a pair of spurres ; two pair of shone, two pair of pynsyns, and a pair of slyppers. And these our letters shal be your suffisant warraunt in this behalve. Geven under our signet at our manor of Grenewych, the XXVIII day of November, the XIVth year of our reigne. We wol that you paye by warrant herof for the making of the said arrays and clothinge.

“*To Sir Robert Litton, Knight, Keeper of our Great Warderobe.*”†

In 1503 Gerald married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Zouche, of Codnor. She is described as being “a woman of rare probity of mind, and every way commendable.” He was soon after permitted by the King to return to Ireland with his father.

In February, 1504, he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Ireland.

In August he commanded the reserve at the battle of

* Lamb’s Fur.

† MS.

Knockdoe, where, as has been related, his courage and rashness were the cause of some loss.

On the death of his father in 1513, he was chosen by the Council Lord Justice of Ireland. Henry VIII. soon after appointed him Lord Deputy by patent, and his brother-in-law, Lord Slane, succeeded him as Lord Treasurer.

The Earl appears to have followed the example of his father in considering it his duty, as representing the King, to govern and defend the Pale alone, and to have ruled the rest of his possessions as an Irish chief. The Pale, at that time, consisted of the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare. The rest of the island was divided among about thirty great Anglo-Irish Lords, and sixty Irish Chieftains.

Several of the Irish chiefs having, at the end of 1513, ravaged parts of the Pale, the Earl, in the beginning of 1514, marched into Leix, where he defeated O'More and his followers, and pursued them till they took refuge in their woods. He then went North, and took the Castle of Cavan, having killed O'Reilly, and chased his followers into their inaccessible bogs, and then returned to Dublin with his army laden with booty.* These acts were highly approved by the King, who directed Archbishop Wolsey to convey to him his thanks ; and as a reward granted to him and his heirs male, by patent, dated at Westminster, 7th October, 1514, the customs, &c., of the ports of Strangford and Ardglass, with their members and creeks in the County of Down.

* Ware's Annals.

These rights were purchased by the crown from Wentworth, seventeenth Earl, in 1662.

On the 25th January, 1515, he held a Parliament in Dublin. He afterwards went to England to confer with the King, and Viscount Gormanston was appointed Vice-Deputy during his absence.

In 1516 he invaded Imayle in the County of Wicklow, and sent the head of Shane O'Toole, who had been slain in a skirmish, as a present to the Mayor of Dublin. It appears that this Chieftain had given much annoyance to the citizens. He then marched into Ely O'Carroll, where, being joined by his brother-in-law, Pierce, now Earl of Ormonde, and James, eldest son of the Earl of Desmond, he besieged the Castle of Lemyvannan, against which his father was marching before his death in 1513. The garrison, having defended the castle for a week, abandoned it at night, and the Earl, as soon as it fell into his hands, razed it. He then marched so rapidly upon Clonmel that it at once surrendered on conditions. In December he returned to Dublin "laden with booty, hostages and honor."*

In November of that year (1516) an indenture was drawn up between the Earl and Sir John Rawson, Prior of St John of Jerusalem in Ireland, by which the former agreed to pay £112 8s., then due to the Prior, who made a new lease of the tithes of various parishes to the Earl.

In March, 1517, he held a Parliament in Dublin. He then invaded Ulster, and, after a bloody engagement,

* Ware's Annals.

took by storm the Castle of Dundrum, belonging to the Magennis, and took their chief, Phelim Magennis, prisoner. He then marched into Tyrone, and took the Castle of Dungannon, “and so reduced Ireland to a quiet condition.”*

In that year, on the 6th October, his Countess died suddenly at Lucan, to his great grief, and was buried with great solemnity near his mother in the Monastery of Friars Observants, at Kilcullen.†

In 1518, his enemies having accused him of maladministration, he wrote to the King in his defence ; but as they continued to impeach his conduct, he was summoned to England to answer the following charges :—1st, That he had enriched himself and followers by seizing the crown revenues and lands ; and, 2nd, That he had formed alliance and corresponded with diverse Irish enemies of the State. Having obtained permission to nominate a deputy, he appointed his cousin, Sir Maurice Fitz Gerald of Laccagh, to that office, and sailed for England in the beginning of 1519.

While residing in London, waiting for the inquiry into his conduct, he married his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, and granddaughter of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV. By this marriage he gained much influence at Court, as the Countess was first cousin to Henry VIII.‡

* Ware's Annals.

† Ibid.

‡ Sir John Grey=Elizabeth Woodville=Edward IV.

Thomas, Marquis of Dorset. Elizabeth=Henry VII.

Gerald, 9th Earl of Kildare=Elizabeth.

Henry VIII.

The King having, in the beginning of 1520, held a Council on Irish affairs, resolved to send an English nobleman as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland. He accordingly removed the Earl of Kildare from the government, and appointed the Earl of Surrey to that office.

In June, 1520, Kildare accompanied the King to France, and was present at the celebrated meeting with Francis I. on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," where he was distinguished by his brilliant bearing.

In July the King, in a letter to Surrey, writes:—"As touching the sedicious practises, conspiracies, and subtill driftes of the Erle of Kildare, his servauntes, ayders, and assisters, We have committed the examination and triall of that matier to the mooste Reverend Fader in God, our right entirely beloved Counsaillour, Chauncellour, Cardinall, and Archbisshop of Yorke, who for suche weightie businesse, as he hath had in hande, by reason of the personall interviews betwixt Us, the King of Romaines, and our broder the Frenche King, cowde not have noo convenient lasiour hiderto soo to doo. Neverthelesse, the said Erle is continually attending upon our said Chauncellour, whoo, with his servauntes, named in your instructions, shall not oonely be examined, but also fether tryed, as to lawe and justice apperteigne. And if he be founde culpable in the crymes and offences laide to his charge, in disgressing from his duteie of liegeaunce, by disturbing of the peax of that our lande, and provoking any our subgiettes to the werres ageinst you, We shall see hym in suche wyse condignly punysshed, that all other

shall take fearfull example by hym, sembably to offende hereafter.”*

On the 6th September, 1520, the Earl of Surrey wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, that the Earl of Kildare had sent a letter in Irish, by the Abbot of “Monaster Evyn,” to O’Carroll, desiring him, as soon as an English Deputy should be appointed, to make war upon the Pale; but that he could not get the letter. It was, however, as follows:—
“Life and health to O’Carroll, from the Earl of Kildare. There is none Irishman in Ireland that I am better content with than with you; and whenever I come into Ireland, I shall do you good for anything that ye shall do for me; and any displeasure that I have done to you, I shall make you amends therefore, desiring you to keep good peace to Englishmen till an English Deputy shall come thither; do your best to make war upon Englishmen then, except such as be toward me, whom you know well yourself.”† He also sent a similar letter to O’Neill.

In October, the King wrote to Surrey, that as they had “noon evident testimonies” to convict the Earl, he thought it but just to “release hym out of warde, and putt hym under suretie not to departe this our realme without our special lisenze.”‡

The Earl of Surrey also wrote to the King that the prospect of the return of the Earl of Kildare, who had married the “Kinges kyneswoman,” agitated the whole island.

The Earl, having thus been acquitted of the charges

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 33.

† Ibid., p. 45.

‡ Ibid., p. 56.

brought against him, returned to Ireland in January, 1523.

Gerald, eighth Earl, having some time before his death assigned certain lands to be held in trust for the endowment of a "College in the church of the B. V. Mary of Maynooth," his son, the ninth Earl, anxious to carry out his intentions, petitioned the Archbishop of Dublin for license to found a college at Maynooth in 1518. The license was granted in April of that year, and confirmed in October, 1521. He then built the college "in a most beautiful form," in connexion with the chapel of Maynooth, and endowed it with ample means. The Prebend of Maynooth was annexed to the Mastership, and the Vicar of Laraghbryan was Sub-master. This establishment, under the name of the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Maynooth, flourished until it was suppressed, with other religious houses, in 1538.

On his return to Ireland, the Earl obtained permission from the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Ormonde, who had been appointed at the same "interteignment as the Erle of Kildare hadde,"* to invade the territory of Leix. In this expedition he was accompanied by the Mayor and several of the citizens of Dublin. They marched into that country, and burned several villages, but being caught in an ambuscade, lost many men, and retreated with some difficulty to Dublin.†

On the 8th February, 1523, the Earl wrote the following letter to Cardinal Wolsey :—

"In my moost humble maner I recomaunde me unto

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 88.

† Ware's Annals.

your Grace, beseching God to rewarde your Grace, for the good favoures that pleased you to shew unto me, in my causes, at all tymes. Pleas it your Grace, to be advertised, that at my being in England, eight yeres passed, I made peticion to the Kinges Grace, that I might have had the next avoidaunce, and denomination of the Bisshopprik of Kildare, where withall he was then contented ; which Bisshopprik do not exed the yerely value of an hundrith marc sterling, the substance whereof lieth in the Irishry, and will not be lightly had, but by temperall power. It is now voide by the dethe of the last Bisshop there, so I have now writtyn to the Kinges Grace, desiring to have his letters of denomination therefore unto this berer, Maister Edward Dillon, Deane of the Cathederall Chirch of Kildare foresaid ; which is of vertuous living, and of English name and condicion ; unto whom I besече your Grace to be good and gracious Lord, and that he may have your gracious favoures in th expedicion of the same, and the rather at this my poor contemplacion.

“At my departure out of England, your Grace was crased, so as I coude have no ende in my causes, notwithstanding my long abode there ; so as I have lefte certayn instruccions with certayn of my servauntes there, to pursue unto your Grace for remedie therein. Wherefore it wold pleas you to be so good and gracious unto me, that I may have short expedicion in my said causes, as my special confidence is in your Grace, and I shall daily pray for the prosperous contynuance of the same, as our Lord God knowith, who have your Grace in his tendre tucion.

“ Writtyn at my manour of Maynoth, the 8th day of Februarij.

“ Yours, at your commandment,

“ G. OF KYLDARE.

*“ To my Lord Cardynals Grace.”**

The Earl appears to have failed in this application, as Thomas Dillon was appointed Bishop.

On the 24th May, 1523, the Earl wrote the following letter to the King :—

“ Please it your Grace to be advertised, that in the begynnynge of this May, I made a journey into the north of this your land on certain of your Irish rebelles, as well for burnynge of part of my landes there, as for robbing certain of your subgietes of West Chester ; and at my being there, herde that there was a Britton ship laded with Gascon wyne, at your toun of Cragvergouse ; † whereunto I adressed me, and my retynue, through the countres of myn ennemyes, with som deficultie, for the passage there were defended by Hew McNeile ‡ and others, which, besides there own retynue, had 1500 Scottes in wages, of whome there was about 20 slayne. And before I came to Cragvergouse, the Britton, hearing that I had som four or five vessils commynge by see, departed and fled away, leving part of his payment for the wyne, that he sold to the inhabitauntes of the said Cragvergouse, unreceyved. And I then had knowledge, that a Scottish vesshell, laded with vittailles, lay ferre out in the havon ; whereupon, for that myn own vesshels were

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 98.

† Carrickfergus.

‡ Hugh O'Neill of Clandeboy.

not then comyn, I manned furthe three bootes with my servauntes, and such ordenaunce as I had there, which chased the said Scottes upon a dosyn myle, so as they ranne their vesshell agrounde, and went theymself to land ; which were rescowed by the contre longing to Hew McNeill. Notwithstanding, my servauntes brought the vesshell with them. For the which rescowes, I brak a castell of his, called Belfast, and burned twentie foure myle of his contre, and toke and burned two other pilis, that Scottes kept there. And for that th inhabitants of your town of Cragvergouse did bye and sell with your enemyes, as welle Scottes as Brittons, I toke, the Maier of the same, and three of his bretherne, being of good substaunce after the rate there, which now I sent your Grace ; and during my being in that journey, your Deputie here, in cruvell wise, did not only burne the landes of diverse of my servauntes your subgietes, being then with me in your service, but also brake three pilis, which were the chief defence against the Irishry, and besides that toke two castels or piles of me, without any defence ; for my servauntes, having the custodie of theym, mystrusted him not. Whereof oon he brake himself, and delyvered the others to O'Conour, who brake hit. I toke thos same of Irishmen, and kept theym for the defence of your subgietes, having litill or no profit by theym. Your said Deputie, sethens it was bruted here that your Grace mynded to amove him from your deputation, hath bene nothing in effect ruled by your Counsaill here, but hath made bondes with diverse of the Irishry, and in especiall with O'Keroll, and such as hath hitherto moost greved your subgietes here ; by

whos assistence he intendith to defend his title to th Erldom of Ormond, be it right or wrong. I am in veray evill caas ; for, in avoiding your displeasure, I forbere to make any bondes, with Irismen against him, that hath your auctorite ; and my frendis of your English subgietes may not conveniently assist me in my defence against the same ; so as, without the hastier help of God and your Grace, I am like to be undone thereby.

“ And now, after the writing hereof, part of your said Deputie’s retynue hath takyn from me and myn 500 steide mares and coltes. Beseching your Grace, in my mooste humble wise, to have respect unto the premisses, for your Counsaill here, to whom I do and have oftyn complayne, sayth that the Deputie is not ruled by theym, ne will take their advertisement in the same. How be it, they do always avise me to suffre him without any revenging, and that they doubt not, but that your Grace will see redresse therein yourself, whos advertisement I have hitherto folowed, and shall do, not suffring myn utter destruccion, which I am suer your Grace wold not wil me to suffre. And thus the Holy Trinite have your Grace in his mooste tendre tuycion.

“ From Kildare, the 24th of Maij.

“ Your mooste humble subgiет,

“ G. OF KYLDARE.

“ *To our Soveragn Lord the King.*”*

On the following day the Countess of Kildare wrote to the Cardinal :—

“ In my most humble maner I recomend me on to

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 99.

your Grace, beseaching your Grace to be good and gracious lord unto my Lord, my husband, in such pursuities as his servantes perswithe for hym wnto your Grace, that it may aperun to theym, that your Grace is somewhat the better unto theym, at this my humble petition ; for as yet my sayd Lord and husband hath not had enny gret proffyt by me, yet I fynd hym as good and kynd unto me alweys, as eny man may be to his wif. Humble thankyn your Grace, for that it ples your Grace to remember me to my Lady my moder, as tucheng my maryage mone, when she was beffor your Grace. Asserting your Grace that I heme yn continuell fer ; and thogh of the Kynges Deputes sore and unfaworable demenour on to my sayd Lord, yt ys comenly noyssed here, that yf the sayd Deputie might have my sayd Lord at eny avaunttage, that he wold utterly dystroy hym ; of the whiche I have knowen hym, twyce yn on mornyng, warned er he rose owte of his bed. As I hyre say, the cause why that he ys so cruell dysposed towardes hym ys, for that my sayd Lord reffused to endent to have tackyne part wyth hym, ayenst theyrs of the late Erle of Ormond, whiche pretendyth tytyle to the sayd Erldome, en cas the Kynges Gras had wylled my sayd Lord to the contrrey ; whiche claus yn no wys he wold be contented wyth all, but wold have had my sayd Lord bound, wythoute enny exception. For the whiche he doth not only oppres my sayd Lordes frendys and servantes to the extremyte, but also maynteyneth the Kynges Irish rebelles ayenst hym, continually. And now off late, since Maij last past, the sayd Deputy hath brokyn dyverse castles longeng to my sayd Lord, and to his frendes, whiche

castelles was among the Kynges Irish rebelles, and wer gret defens for the Kynges Engles subgyectes ; not only thes, but dywers other ynjurys and wronges daily to my sayd Lord, hys frendys and serwantes, to long to me to wryte of unto your Gras. And my said Lord suffreth pacyentle the same, feryng the Kynges dysplesure ; and yf yt wer not therfor, lytyll wold he suffre such wronges as the sayd Deputy doth unto him, hys frends and serwantes. My Lord complaynes to the Kinges Counsayll here styll therof, and the Deputy wyll not be ruled by them ; nether my sayd Lord dare not ster hym self, for fere of the Kynges dysplesuer ; so that he hath no remedy, onles yt be by the Kyng and yowre Gras. And yt fere me full sore, that my sayd Lord ys lyke to take gret harme, yn the mene whyle; besekyng your Gras, for the lof of God, to helpe for the expedicion of the redres here of, whych ys nedfull both to my sayd Lord, and to most part of all the Kinges subgyectes in thys land. As knowyth God, who have yowr noble Gras yn hys blysed kepyng. Fro my Lordes maner of Maynoth, the 25 day of May.

“ YOWRS,

“ ELYZABETH KYLDARE.

“ *To my Lord Cardinals Grace.*”*

These complaints seem to have induced the King to endeavour to reconcile the Earls. In Kilkenny Castle is “An order or award betweene Piers, Earle of O: Lo: Dep: and the Earle of Kildare,” dated 28th November, 1523. The arbiters were, the Chancellor, Hugh,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 101.

Archbishop of Dublin; George, Archbishop of Armagh; the Treasurer, Sir John Rawson, Prior of Kilmainham; and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Patrick Birmingham. After hearing evidence on both sides, they agreed that "Sir Peter Butler, Erle of Ormound, now being the King's Deputie in his land of Ireland aforesaid, and Sir Geralde Fitz Garrald, Erle of Kildayre" should not make war or peace without the King's license or that of his Deputy. That they should not levy coin and livery within the "four obeysant shires, Meth, Urgell, Dublin, and Kildayre," except as limited by the Earl of Surrey, the Treasurer. That the Earl of Kildare might, however, levy it on his own tenants; and as he was "moiste mete and hable as a defensor" of the Pale, he might, when travelling on public affairs in the absence of the Deputy, levy it in the same manner as the Deputy would in such case. That he should have £100 per annum, "for the goode and faithfull service to be done by him as long as th Erle of Ormonde should be Deputie." That he should allow the King's officers to collect peaceably the revenues in the County of Kildare. That the two Earls should persuade their kinsmen to submit to the laws. That the Earl of Kildare should bring Sir Gerald M'Shane and his son before the deputy and Council, to be judged for their offences against the crown; but that the Council should not grant them pardons for "trespasse and offence doen to the said Erle." That neither of the Earls should allow the Irish enemies of the other to remain in his castles on the borders of the other's country. And that, though the arbiters desired their award of amity and concord to be perpetual, yet, at the earnest request of the

two Earls, they were only to be bound by it for one year. Each Earl's bond was for 1,000 marks.*

The dissensions between the Earl and his brother-in-law, the Lord Deputy, however, soon after came to a crisis, in consequence of the following outrage. James Fitz-Gerald, "Chief of the Earl of Kildare's followers," met James Talbot of Belgarde, Ormonde's favourite and principal follower, who was hated by the Geraldines, as he was supposed to be a spy on them, near Ballymore Eustace, on his way to keep Christmas with the Earl of Ormonde at Kilkenny Castle, and killed him. Ormonde was so exasperated at this that he brought an impeachment against Kildare in England.† The Countess of Ormonde, Kildare's sister, appears to have been particularly angry, and to have taken active steps against him.

At the instance of the Marquis of Dorset, Kildare's father-in-law, the King ordered the inquiry to be held in Ireland, and issued a Commission to Sir Ralph Egerton, Sir Anthony Fitz Herbert, Justice of the Common Pleas, and James Denton, Dean of Litchfield, authorizing them to examine into the matter, and if the charges against Kildare were not proven, to remove the Earl of Ormonde from his office, and to appoint Kildare Lord Deputy. The Commissioners arrived in Dublin in June, 1524, and having conducted the inquiry in Christ Church Cathedral, came to a solemn decision in favour of Kildare.‡ One of the accusations against the Earl was, of having warned the Earl of Desmond not to come where he could be arrested. In reply, he stated that on his

* Hist. of St. Canice Cath. p. 221.

† Ware's Annals.

‡ Ibid.

arrival in Ireland, in 1523, he wrote to the Earl of Desmond, desiring him to meet him, with the intention of asking his aid against the Mc Carthys and other "Irish rebelles." This letter the Countess of Ormonde, his sister, caused to be taken from his messenger while he was in her house. He also stated that at that time he was ignorant of the Earl of Desmond's misdemeanors against the King. This letter having been laid before the Commissioners by the Earl of Ormonde, they, after consideration, "toke it to proceed of noon evill intende."* An indenture dated, 28th July, 1524, was then drawn up "betwixt the Right Honourable the Erle of Ormonde, Deputie to our said Sovereign Lord in his lande of Ireland, of the one partie, and the Right Honourable Erle of Kyldare, of the other partie," by which they agreed: To forgive all wrongs, &c., done to them or their tenants; To be friendly to each other; To take part with each other against the King's enemies; If any variance arose between them to refer it to the Chancellor and Privy Council; The Earl of Kildare to remit arrears of subsidies out of Kilkenny and Tipperary due when he was Deputy in 1515; The Earl of Kildare's stud of mares and colts having been taken by James Fitz Gerald's son, the Earl of Ormonde was to endeavour to have them restored, and at all events such as were brought into Kilkenny, or the value of them; The Earl of Ormonde to be allowed to levy the subsidy due to him out of the County of Kildare, except 100 marks retained in lieu of what was due out of Kilkenny.† There

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 123.

† Ibid., p. 104.

is no mention of the murder of Talbot in this document ; but James Fitz Gerald was sent a prisoner to London, and having been led through the streets with a halter round his neck and a taper in his hand, preparatory to his execution, he, at the request of the Dean of Litchfield, was pardoned by the King.*

The Earl of Kildare was appointed Lord Deputy by patent, dated the 4th August, 1524. After taking the oath, he went in state to Thomas Court, his nephew, Con Bacagh O'Neill, carrying before him the sword of State, and there entertained the Commissioners at a splendid banquet.†

On the 4th August, an indenture was drawn up "betweene our Sovereigne Lorde the King, and the Right Honorable Erlle, Gerralde of Kildare," in which the Earl undertakes not to make war without the consent of the Council ; nor to levy coin and livery except when on the King's business, and then at the following rate :—"For every horsseman and captayne of kerne and galoglasse, to have, in flesshe dayes, fleshe, bredde, and ale, and in fysshe dayes, fysshe or butter ; and his kyrnne and boyes, suche as the husbond (man) hathe ; or elles to take but for every horsseman 2d. a meale ; every foteman 1½d., and for every horskeper 1d. ; every chief horsse twelve sheives for a nyght and a daye ; every bereing horsse eyghte sheives, and but one boye for a horsse." When he goes to attend Parliament, the Council, or on his private business, he shall take coin and livery only from his own tenants. He is not to grant pardons without the consent of the Council. He will cause

* Holinshed.

† Ware.

of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Wexford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Limerick. And he will cause the inhabitants of "the four shires" to wear English apparel, and to shave their "upper berdes."* The Galloglasses, mentioned in the indenture, were infantry armed with shirts of mail and axes, each galloglass had an attendant boy bearing three darts. The Kern were light-armed infantry, with lances; each two kern having a boy to carry their mantles, weapons, and victuals.

In May, 1525, the Earl held a Parliament in Dublin. He, in the same year, condemned Maurice Kavanagh, Archdeacon of Leighlin, to be hung on a gibbet on the high road near Glenreynold, for having murdered his kinsman, Maurice Doran, Bishop of Leighlin, who had threatened him with punishment for his crimes.

On the 20th May, 1525, the King sent the following letter to the Earl:—

"Right trusty and right welbiloved Cousin, We grete you well. Signifieng unto you that complaint hath been made unto Us, on the behalf of our right trusty and right welbiloved Cousin, th Erl of Ormond, that where as, at our Commissioners being there, they awarded unto the said Erle the oon half of our subsodie there, and other parcelles of our revenues there due, unto hym, which subsodie, and other revenues, our said Commissioners auctorised you to levie and receive to the use of the said Erle, and to have made full payment of the same unto hym, at the Fest of Saint Michell th Archaungell last past, as by th indentures thereupon

made betwixt you, in that partie, playner it doth appear; Ye, not regarding our said Commissioners awarde in that behalf, do still reteigne and kepe in your handes the said subsidie, and other revenues, of the somme of £800 or thereabouts, as We bee informed. Wherefore, We woll, and natheless commaunde you, that within twentie dayes next after the sight herof, ye make full delivery and payment of the said subsidie, and other revenues unto the said Erle, according to the purport of our said Commyssioners awarde, without any stoppell or further delaye, as ye tender our pleasure.

“Yeven under our Signet, at our Manour of Grenewiche, the 20th daye of Maye.”*

To this letter the Earl returned the following answer on the 17th August:—

“After my most humble recommendation, Please it your Grace to bee advertised, where as by your moost drad letters, dated the 20th day of May last passed, it pleased the same to commaunde me to delivere and make payement unto th Erl of Ormond, within twentie dayes after the sight of your said letters, the halfynde of your subsidie, and other parcelles of your revenues, to the somme of £800, unto the said Erle due, which your Commyssioners, at their being here, willed me to levye; so it is, I did not receive the said letters, till on this last Saint Lawrence is even, before the receipt whereof the said Erle was clierly paid of the said subsidie, and of all other your revenues unto hym due, and received by me,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 120.

which amounted not to the said somme, as shall appere by th accompt of your Under Treasurer here. In my most humble maner besechyng your Grace not to regarde suche untrue surmyses of myne adversaries, till the trouthe bee tryed, trusting and knowing right well, that I never did, ne thought, anything, whereby I shuld deserve your moost drad displesure: whereunto I was not oonly bounde by my dutie of allegiaunce, but also for that I was brought up in your service; and when I came to discesion, hit pleased you to make me your Treasurer, and consequently your Deputie, and gave me landes to the yerely value of 100 markes. My first wife* was your pore kynneswoman, and my wife now† in like maner. And in all my troubles before this, by untrue surmyses against me, Ye were good and gracious unto me, which ought inogh suffice to bynde to owe unto your Grace my true and faithfull service. And though there were no suche cause, yet coud I fynde in my hart to serve your Grace before all the Princes in the world, as well for the grete noblenes, valiaunt prowes, and equitie, which I ever noted in your most noble personne, as also for the vertuous qwalities wherin ye excelle all other Princes. And besides that, I do knowe right wele, if I did the contrary, it shuld bee the destrucction of me, and my sequele, for ever. As knowith Almighty God, who ever have you in his tender tuicion. From my manour of Maynoth, the 17 daye of August."‡

* Elizabeth Zouche.

† Lady Elizabeth Grey.

‡ State Papers, vol. ii. p. 125.

About the same time the Earl transmitted to the King, through his brother-in-law, Lord Leonard Grey, a document containing a series of accusations against the Earl of Ormonde ; among others, that when the Lord Deputy was at war with O'Carroll (in 1516), Ormonde had sent "four gunners with gunnes and powder" to defend the Castle of Lemyvannan ; that when the Bishop of Leighlin was murdered, three of Ormonde's servants were present, whom he had not punished ; that the followers of Ormonde had plundered and burned a town belonging to Kildare, called "Lyvetiston" (Levitstown), and murdered seventeen men and women, and "oon of theym that fled out of the fire to the churche was slayne on the high auter ;" that the Council having ordered Ormonde to pay two hundred marks as a compensation to Kildare—he had not done so ; and that Ormonde had sent to London one Robert Cowley, having his signet, "to indite complaints against Kildare."*

In that year, 1525, the King sent letters to the Earl, ordering him to arrest the Earl of Desmond, who was accused of high treason. He accordingly assembled a large force, and marched into Munster. But the Earl of Desmond (by, it is said, the advice of the Earl of Kildare) avoided any meeting, alleging his privilege to absent himself from Parliament and walled towns.† He next invaded Tyrconnell with Con Bacagh O'Neill. They proceeded as far as Portnatrynod, near Lifford, where they encamped within some strong entrenchments, which had been thrown up some time before by O'Donnell. The latter had collected a large force, which had been reinforced by a body

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 120.

† Ware.

of Scots, and was encamped at Drumleen, the two armies being separated by the River Foyle. Manus O'Donnell wished to attack the Earl at once, but was deterred by his father, who feared the ordnance which strengthened the defences of the Earl. Next morning Kildare having intelligence that Hugh O'Neill, Con's rival, was in arms in Tyrone, sent messengers to O'Donnell to treat for peace, which was at length concluded, and the Earl became surety between the two chiefs. He then turned his whole force against Hugh O'Neill, and defeated him in an engagement, in which he was slain.*

In the beginning of Spring, 1526, Con O'Neill and Manus, eldest son of Hugh O'Donnell, Dynast of Tyrconnell, went to the Earl of Kildare, in order that he might arbitrate between them, and if possible, make peace. After much altercation, however, they returned without having settled their differences.†

In 1526, the Earl of Ossory (who had surrendered the Earldom of Ormonde to the King) accused Kildare of having engaged the O'Byrnes to assist the Earl of Desmond (who was engaged in a plot with Charles V. to land a Spanish army in Ireland), of having armed the Irish against his own authority, and of having put to death good subjects, because they were adherents of the Butlers. The Earl was ordered to go to England to answer this impeachment. He left his brother, Sir James Fitz Gerald of Leixlip, as Vice-Deputy. On his arrival in London he was committed to the Tower. When the Earl appeared before the Council, Cardinal Wolsey is said by Holinshed to have made a violent speech against him,

* Annals of the Four Masters.

† Ibid.

and, among other accusations, to have charged him with taking no steps to arrest the Earl of Desmond, "while, had you lost a cow or a horse of your owne, two hundred of your reteyners would have come at your whistle to rescue the prey from the uttermost edge of Ulster. The Earl! nay, the King of Kildare!—for when you are disposed, you reigne more like than rule the land." While the Cardinal was speaking, the Earl showed signs of impatience, and at last interrupted him thus:—"My Lord Chancellor, I beseech you pardon me, I am short witted, and you, I believe, intend a long tale. If you proceed in this order, halfe of my purgation will be lost for lacke of carriage. I have no schoole trickes, nor art of memory, except you heare me, while I remember your words, your second process will hammer out the former." The Lords of the Council thought this request reasonable, and asked the Cardinal to allow the Earl to answer the first accusation. He assented, and the Earl continued:—

"It is good reason that your Grace beare the mouth of this boarde. But, my Lord, those mouths that put these things in your mouth are very wyde mouths, such, indeed, as have gaped long for my wrack, and now, at length, for want of better stuffe, are fain to fill their mouths with smoke. What my cousin Desmond hath compassed, as I know not, so I beshrew his naked heart for holding out so long. If hee can be taken by my agents that presently wait for him, then have my adversaries betrayed their malice, and this heape of haynous words shall resemble a scarecrow or a man of strawe, that seemeth at a blush to carry some proportion, but when

it is felt and poysed, discovereth a vanity, serving onely to fear crowes, and I verily trust your Honours will see the prooffe by the thing itselfe within these few dayes. But to go too, suppose hee never bee hadde, what is Kildare to blame for it more than my good brother of Ossorie, notwithstanding his high promises, having also the King his power, is yet content to bring him in at leysure. Cannot the Earl of Desmond sheft, but I must be of counsel? Cannot hee bee hyden, except I winke? If he bee close, am I his mate? If hee bee friended, am I a traytour? This is a doughty kind of accusation, which they urge agaynst me. When was the Earle within my viewe and who stode by when I let him slip? But I sent him worde to beware of me. Who was the messenger? where are the letters? Of my cousin Desmond, they may lie, since no man more can well contrarie them. Touching myselfe, I never acted in theym eyther so much wit or so fast fayth, that I would have gaged upon their silence the life of a goode hounde much lesse mine owne. It grieveth me that your good Grace, whom I take to be wise and sharpe, should be so farre gone in creditting these corrupt informers. Little know you, my Lord, how necessarie it is not onely for the governour, but also for every nobleman in Irelande, to hamper his uncivell neighbours at discretion, wherein if they waited for processe of lawe, and had not those lyves and landes within their reach, they might happe to lose their owne lives and landes without lawe. Touching my kingdome, I know not what your Lordship should meane thereby. If your Grace imagin that a kingdom consisteth in serving God, in

obeying the prince, in governing with love the Common wealth, in shouldering subjects, in suppressing rebelles, in executing justice, in brideling blind affections, I would be willing to be invested with so vertuous and royall a name. But if, therefore, you terme me a king, in that you are persuaded that I repine at the government of my soveraigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppress civil livers, I utterly disclayme in that odious tearme, marveyling greatly that one of your Grace his profound wisdome shoulde seeme to appropriate so sacred a name to so wicked a thing. But, however it be, my Lorde I woulde you and I had changed kingdoms but for one moneth, I woulde trust to gather up more crummes in that space than twice the revenues of my poor Earldom. But you are well and warme, and so holde you and upbrayde not me with such an odious terme. I slumber in a hard cabyn, when you sleepe in a soft bed of downe. I serve under the King his cope of heaven, when you are served under a canapie. I drinke water out of my skull, when you drinke wine out of golden cuppes. My courser is trayned to the field, when your genet is taught to amble. When you are begraced and beloved, and crouched and kneeled unto, then find I small grace with our Irish borderers, excepte I cut them off by the knees.”* Holinshed continues:—The Cardinal, “perceiving that Kildare was no babe, rose in a fume from the counsayle-table, and commytted the Earle, and deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Irelande. There he was heartily beloved of the

* Holinshed.

Lieutenant, pittied in all the Court, and, standing in so harde a case, altered little his accustomed hue, comforted other noblemen prisoners with him, disembling his owne sorrow. One night, when the Lieutenant and he for their disport were playing at slide-grote or shuffle-boorde, sodainely commeth from the Cardinall a mandatum to execute Kyldare on the morrow. The Earle, marking the Lieutenant's deep sigh, 'By St. Bride, Lieutenant,' quoth he, 'there is some madde game in that scrole; but, fall how it will, this throw is for an huddle.' When the worst was tolde him, 'Nowe I pray thee,' quoth he, 'doe no more, but learne assuredly from the King his owne mouth, whether his Highness be witting thereto or not.' Sore doubted the Lieutenant to displease the Cardinall, yet of verrie pure love to his friend he posteth to the King at midnight and delivered his errand (for att all houres of the night the Lieutenant hath access to the Prince upon occasions).^{*} The King controlling the sauciness of the Priest (for those were his termes), delivered to the Lieutenant his signet in token of countermande, which, when the Cardinall had seen, he beganne to brake into unseasoned language, which the Lieutenant was loath to hear. Thus broke up the storm for that time."[†]

It, however, appears in a State Paper, dated July, 1528, that, notwithstanding the enmity which Wolsey is represented to have borne to the Earl, the Cardinal was of opinion that it would be inexpedient to remove

^{*} The Lieutenant of the Tower has still the privilege of communicating personally with the Sovereign.

[†] Holinshed.

him from his office of Lord Deputy, for the following reasons :—1st, because the Earl of Ossory was too old, and his son, Lord Butler, too young, to restrain the Irish septs ; 2nd, the troops were short of provisions, and as the harvest was then at hand, they would not be able to prevent it being cut by the Earl's Irish allies, unless they were restrained by the expectation of his return ; and 3rdly, his kinsmen and friends, as long as he was Deputy, were afraid lest any damage done by them should be laid to his charge. The King, who was opposed to the Lord Deputy's return, retained him, therefore, at his court, and appointed the Earl of Ossory to govern as Vice-Deputy. The Duke of Norfolk, who, as Lord Surrey, had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, now offered to become security for the Earl, who was liberated on the bail of the Dowager Marchioness of Dorset, the Marquis of Dorset, Lord Fitzwalter, Lord Mountjoy, the Bishop of St. Asaph, Lords Richard, John, and Leonard Grey, Sir Henry Guilford, Sir John Zouche, and the Abbot of Vale Royal. He then resided in the Duke's house at Newington, in Middlesex.*

The Earl, dissatisfied with his position, and wishing to make his presence in Ireland necessary, sent, in July, 1528, his daughter, Lady Slane, to urge his nephew, Con O'Neill, and his son-in-law, O'Connor, to invade the Pale. In consequence of this he was again committed to the Tower, and deprived of his office of Lord Deputy, which was conferred on the Earl of Ossory.

In a document, entitled “ Instruccions to be showed

* Ware.

unto the Kynges Highnes, my Lord Cardynall is Grace and the Kynges Counsayll in England," from the Deputy and Council in Ireland, it is stated that the Earl of Kildare's brethren and kinsmen, having a great retinue of "men of war," and strong garrisons and abundance of ordnance, and knowledge of the country, may cause more damage than three times as many in any other part of the land. They ask that the King should direct Sir Walter Delahide, "Styuard to the Earl of Kyldare," to deliver up all the ordnance which the Earl and his father had, as Deputies, for the defence of the King's subjects. They state that the Earl's brothers and allies will not be at peace with the Deputy, unless they obtain a pardon for themselves and adherents; and that the Earl's daughter, Lady Slane, had had a secret conference with O'Connor, after which he "made invasions, roodes and hostilties."* In March, 1529, Sir Gerald M'Shane, having been sworn upon the "great relike of Erlonde, called Baculum Christi," declared that it was arranged between the Earl and Melour Fay, that if the former could not come to Ireland he would send his "daughter Ellys" as a token of his detention.†

The Earl was, however, soon after released from the Tower.

In 1530, his portrait, which is at Carton, was painted by Holbein.

He was one of the Peers who, on the 30th July in that year, signed the letter to the Pope relating to the divorce of the King from Queen Catherine.

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 145.

† Ibid.

In August he accompanied Sir William Skeffington, the Lord Deputy, to Ireland. On their arrival in Dublin, they were met on the Green of St. Mary's Abbey by the Mayor and citizens in procession ; and the Recorder, Thomas Fitz Simons, congratulated them "in a pithie oration." The Lord Deputy replied : "Master Mayor and Maister Recorder,—You have at length the nobleman here present, for whom you sore longed whylest he was absent. And after many storms by him sustayned, he hathe nowe to the comfort of his friends and to the confusion of his foes, subdued violence with patience, injuries with sufferance, and malice with obedience. And such butchers as of hatred thyrsted after his bloud, are nowe taken for outcaste mastives littered in currish bloud. How well my maister the King hath been of his gracious inclination affected to the Earle of Kildare (his backe friend being, by his just desert from his Majestie, weeded), the credit wherein this nobleman at this present resteth, manifestly declareth. Wherefore it resteth that you thank God and the King for his safe arrival. As for his welcome, Maister Recorder, his curteous discourse, your great assemblies, your cheerful countenances, your willing meetings, your solemne processions, do so farre shewe it, as you minister mee occasion on hys lordship his behalf, rather to thanke you for your courtesy than to exhort you to any further ceremonie."*

During his absence in England, the O'Tooles having plundered his tenants, the Earl determined to punish them, and soon after his arrival invaded their country, assisted by two hundred archers of the City of Dublin Bands.

* Holinshed, Hist. of Ir., p. 84.

In 1531, he accompanied the Lord Deputy into Ulster, where, having taken the Castle of Kinard, in the County of Tyrone, they compelled Hugh O'Donnell to submit to the King's authority.*

The friendship between the Earl and the Deputy did not last long; and they sent letters and messengers to the King mutually accusing each other. In January, 1532, Ossory also complains that while he was absent in the North with the Deputy, the Earl of Kildare "dysplayed his standard," and collecting all his forces attacked and plundered his country.† About Easter the Earl went to England, where he exculpated himself so well before the King that on the 5th July he was appointed to succeed Sir W. Skeffington as Deputy to Henry Duke of Richmond. He returned to Ireland at Lammas (August), 1532, and landing in Dublin, was received with great acclamation of the people.‡

The Earl, on attaining power, appears to have resolved to punish all his adversaries. On the day he landed he removed from the office of Chancellor, John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin (who had been chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey), and nominated in his place George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh; and Holinshed says: "Kildare having received the sworde, woulde permit Skeffington, who was late Governoure, to dance attendance among the other suitors in his house at Dublyn, named the Carbry."§

He also committed several acts, which were quoted in the act of attainder afterwards passed against him, viz. :

* Ware.

† State Papers, vol. ii. p. 156.

‡ Ware.

§ Hist. of Ir., p. 58.

Instead of opposing O'Neill when he invaded Uriel (Louth), he countenanced his acts by ordering his brother, Sir John FitzGerald, to accompany him ; he invaded Kilkenny, and burned and destroyed the property of the Earl of Ossory and his adherents (though Lord Butler, the Earl's son, was Lord Treasurer) ; he allowed his followers to plunder the King's subjects, who had resorted to the fair of Castledermot, of their goods in his presence, and to murder some of them most cruelly ; and, in order to strengthen his influence with the Irish Chiefs, he married his daughters, Lady Mary, to Brian O'Connor, of Offaly, and Lady ——— to Ferganainm O'Carroll, Dynast of Elye O'Carroll.

Towards the end of 1532, he, at the persuasion of his son-in-law, O'Carroll, marched against the sons of the late O'Carroll, who attempted to keep possession of the territory. The Four Masters, in their Annals, relate :—“ They (the Earl and O'Carroll) afterwards sat round Birr ; and a fight was continued between them and the owners of the castle, until a ball, fired from the castle, entered the side of the Earl, but this was kept secret until the castle was taken. The Earl returned home, and the ball remained in him till the following spring, when it came out at his other side.” When he was wounded, he groaned, which a soldier that was by, observing, said, “ My Lord, why do you groan ? as I myself have been shot three times, and yet have recovered.” To this the Earl replied, “ Would to God thou hadst also received the fourth shott in my stead.”*

* Ware's Annals.

In consequence of this wound he partially lost the use of his limbs and his speech.

On the 21st Dec., 1532, Walter Cowley, Principal Solicitor of Ireland, wrote to Thomas Cromwell, Secretary of State : " My Lord of Kildare, for the mayntenance of his son-in-law, Fergenany O'Karroll, besedged a castell which appertayned to the adversaries of his said son-in-law, with whom they were in strife for the name and Lordship of O'Karroll ; and that there then my said Lord of Kildare was shott with a hand gon thorow the syde, under the ribbes, and so lyeth in great daunger."*

His proceedings now afforded his adversaries opportunities of censuring his administration. Among his chief accusers were John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, John Allen, Master of the Rolls, Thomas Canon, Secretary to Sir W. Skeffington when Lord Deputy, and Robert Cowley, Bailiff of Dublin, formerly servant to the Countess of Ormonde, and afterwards Master of the Rolls. These persons were selected by a portion of the Council to go to England, to lay their complaints before the King. In 1533, the Council report, that there is such a rooted dissention between the Earls of Kildare and Ossory, that it is not likely they can be reconciled as long as either of them is Deputy.† And in another report to Cromwell, on the state of the country, to be laid before the King, it is stated that the Irish were committing many outrages ; among others, had killed the son of the Earl of Ossory. " Not long after, th Erle of Kildare was shot through with a gonne, and hardly escapid the

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 161.

† Ibid., p. 165.

deth. His three bretherne also, James, Richarde, and Waltier, being in the marches, in one house, parte of the Toolles, in the night, burnyd it; and James did escape by swyftness of his horse, his men slayne, and both his other bretherne escapid in the clothing of women. Soon after, John, brother to th Erle of Kildare, made a roode upon the M'Mahons, where he was met, and himself woundid and chased six myles, and 30 of his men slayne. Thomas, son and heire to th Erle of Kildare, made another roode upon O'Reyly, where he was encountrid also withall, and fayne to recule with moche reaproache.* In another report to Cromwell, it is said: "The Counsaile here, are partely corruptid with affection toward the Erle of Kildare, and partely in soche dreade of him, that either they will not, or dare not, do anything that shulde be displesante to him."†

In consequence of these complaints, the Earl was summoned to England. He immediately sent over his Countess to intercede for the recall of this order, but in vain. The order was repeated, allowing him to name any person, for whom he would be responsible, as Deputy during his absence. The King's letters, with one from the Countess, were conveyed to him by "Robert Relye," who was in his service, and afterwards in that of his son. Reilly accompanied him to England, and remained with him till the following May.

On the 3rd September, 1533, Deytheyke, a priest, wrote: "Sins the sight of the Kynges letters, the Deputie hath conveyed all the Kynges ordynaunce owte of

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 168.

† Ibid., p. 179.

the Castell (of Dublin) into his owne countre, and fortifyeth his castells and fastnes with theyme.”*

On the 25th October, Skeffington writes from “Skeffington” to Cromwell: “I have leyde such wayte for the Erle of Kildare, that he shall not pas throw this country; that I doubt not but I will be at London as sone as he, or afore him; and I have noo feare trewly to justify all I have sayde and written of him.” And again, on the 4th November: “The Lady of Kildares servaunts were at Bewe Maris on Sent Symond and Judis day, with the Kynges letters, making no maner of expedicion nor hast with the same; and sethen that day the wynde hath not servid to them.”†

It appears that the King's letters were not delivered to the Earl until late in 1533. He at once nominated his son, Thomas, Lord Offaly, who was then only twenty years of age, and of a “hot and active temper,” Vice-Deputy, and held several communications with him and all his brothers. When his preparations were made, he, in February, 1534, held a council at Drogheda, where, in the presence of the Lords, he, as Holinshed relates, thus addressed his son:—

“Sonne Thomas, I doubt not but you know that my sovereign Lord, the King, hath sent for me to Englande, and what shall betyde me, God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoever it falleth, both you and I know, that I am well stepped in years; and as I may shortly die, for that I am mortal, so must I in haste decease, bicause I am olde. Wherefore, in so much as my wynter is well neare ended,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 180.

† Ibid., p. 181.

and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is, that you behave yourselfe so wisely in these your greene yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends, you may enjoy the pleasure of sommer, gleane and reape the fruit of your harvest, that with honour you may growe to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me, your father, fast pricking. And whereas it pleaseth the King, his Majestie, that upon my departure hence, I should substitute in my roome such one, for whose government I would answer; albeit I know that your yeares are tender, your wit not settled, your judgment not fully rectified, and therefore I myght bee with good cause reclaymed from putting a naked sworde in a young man's hande, yet notwithstanding, for as much as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that upon any information I may commande you as your father, and correct you as my sonne, for the wrong handling of your helme. There be here that set at this bourde far more sufficient personages for so great a charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might bee that hereafter they woulde be so farre with envie carryed, as they would percase hazard the losse of one of their owne eyes, to be assured that I should be deprived of both mine eyes. But forasmuch as the case toucheth your skinne as neare as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, bycause, as I sayde before, I rest in the winter and you in the spring of your yeares; and nowe I am resolved, day by day, to learn rather how to die in the fear of God, than to live in the pompe of the worlde, I thinke you will not be so brain-

sicke as to stabbe yourselfe through the body, only to scarifie my skinne with the poynt of your blade. Wherefore, my sonne, consider that it is easie to raze, harde to buylde, and in all your affayres be schooled by this boorde, that for wisdom is able, and for the entier affection it beareth your house, will be founde willing to lesson you with sounde and sage advice. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsaile they must rule you. My sone, you know that my late maimes stiflcth my talke, otherwise I would have grated longer on this matter, for a good tale may be twice told, and a sound advice, eft-soones itterated, taketh the deeper impression in the attentive hearer his mind. But although my fatherly affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust that your good inclination asketh it to be shorter, and upon that assurance, here, in the presence of this honourable assembly, I delyver you thys sworde."* He then embraced his son and the Lords of the Council, and immediately after embarked. He was no sooner gone than his enemies misconstrued his speech, saying that his intention was that it should be reported to the King as a proof of his loyalty.

In a report on the state of Ireland forwarded to the King at this time, it is stated that the Earl held many royal castles and manors, including, among others, those of Powerscourt, Leixlip, and Castledermot, with the walled town of that name. That the Earl of Desmond and other lords will not attend Parliament nor the Council, nor aid the Deputy, unless the Earl of Kildare holds that office. That Kildare and his

* Holinshed, p. 89.

kinsmen have the counties of Kildare and Carlow, as far as the bridge of Leighlin, and that within this territory he exacts coin and livery. "Item, the said Erld, haiv met and drinke within the said two shyrs, yerly for as many speyr men as he haiv wayting un him, for their horses and kepers, and also for as many horsis as my lady his wiff, his sonys, his doghtirs, and all their servauntes haiv, and a keper to every hors found upon your subjectes without any peny paing therfor, and 8 score fotmen, callyd kern, 10 scor spearys, called Gallaghloghis, which 10 score sparris amountith to 20 score men, and none of thes to be at your comaundment, but when it shall please the said Erld, notwithstanding thei haiv no fynding but of your subjects." And also, "the Erles of Desmond, Kildar, and Ossery, ther wiffis, childyrne, and servauntes, do use, afftyr the custumbe and usage off wyld Iryshmen, to cum with a gret multitude of peple to monasteries and gentylmen ys howsis, and ther to contynu 2 dais and 2 nightes, taking met and drink at ther plesurs, and ther horssis and kepers to be sheiffed or dyvydyt un the pore fermors, next to that place adjoynyng, paing nothing therfor, so as they be found in thys maner, in other men is howsis moo then halff the yere, by this wild Irish custume of extorcion, and spare ther own howsis." That the laws have not been executed in the county of Kildare for twenty-eight years by the judges, but by seneschals of the Earl, who grant pardons for felonies under his seal, claiming the right granted by Edward I. to de Vesci, which had been withdrawn by Edward II., but which had been exercised by the late Earl in the 20 Henry VII. That in consequence

of this the Lords and Gentlemen of Kildare and Carlow, instead of obeying the writ of the King's sheriff, will only answer the summons of the Earl.* That the Earl had built many castles on his own estates, but had neglected to repair the royal castles. That the Earl had given his daughters in marriage to Irish chiefs, contrary to the statute, and had sent his children to be nursed in their families, and thereby formed alliances with them. That it is expedient to withdraw the royal castles and manors from the custodie of the Earl, and that he should be made to account for the tribute which he received from the Irish chiefs.†

Soon after his arrival in London, the Earl, was examined before the Council on various charges. Being accused of fortifying his castles with artillery and stores belonging to the crown, he replied that he had done so to defend the borders of the Pale against the inroads of the Irish, and that if he had meditated treason he would not have been so weak as to fortify his castles, and yet, trust his person into their hands. The hesitation in his speech, caused by the wound which he had received at Birr, being attributed to a sense of guilt, he was committed to the Tower. This became known in Ireland, and a false report was then spread that the "Earl had been beheaded, and that the same fate was intended for his son and his brothers." Lord Offaly at once resigned the office of Vice-Deputy, and assembled his followers in order to drive the English out of Ireland.

* The office of Hereditary Sheriff of Kildare, was granted to Thomas, second Earl, in 1317.

† State Papers, vol. ii. p. 182.

The Earl, hearing in the Tower of his son's rebellion, and having been shown by the Lieutenant of the Tower a copy of the excommunication* of Lord Offaly, which had been transmitted to him for the purpose of being shown to the Earl, died of grief on the 12th December, 1534, and was buried in St. Peter's Church in the Tower. The following inscription was found in 1580 on a chest under the earth, at the burial of Ralph Hopton, "a follower of the Earl of Oxford," and son of Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower:—"Here lieth the corpes of the L. Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earle of Kyldare, who deceased the 12th December, in the year of Our Lord MCCCCXXXIIII., on whose sole Jesu have mercey."†

Holinshed describes the Earl as follows: "This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferior to hys father in martiall prowesse." And again: "He was a wise and prudent man, valiant without rashness, and politic without treachery; such an oppressor of rebels that they dared not beare armour to the anoyance of any subject; whereby he heaped no small revenues to the crowne; guarded with safety the Pale; continued the honor of his house, and purchased envy to his person." "His great hospitalitie is to this day rather of each man commended, than of any one followed. He was so religious addicted to the serving of God, as what tymes soever he travayled to any part of the countrey, such as wear of his chapell should be seur to accompanie him." "He was endowed with this singular quality, of sifting

* This copy is still preserved among the State Papers. (App. 3.)

† Lodge.

every report to the bottom, before he gave credit either to it or to the author. Being once informed that it was intended by John O'Lurchan, with certain desperat varlets, to attack him on his way from Dublin to Maynooth, he sent one of his servants, named James Grant, who resembled him, in his riding dress, with a scarlet cloak which he used to wear. Grant in this attier rode with six of the Earl's servants attending him on the beaten road to Maynooth. Near Lucan the conspirators lay in wait, and thinking it was the Earl, rushed upon him ; but Grant, amazed, called out that they were mistaken, as the Earl had gone to Maynooth on the other side of the Liffey. The robbers then fled, but were soon apprehended and punished by the Earl."

He appears to have been much beloved by his friends and dependants, and even his enemies confessed that he improved his property, as in a letter from Lord Ossory and other Lords of the Council to Cromwell, the Secretary of State, dated 2nd January, 1536, it is mentioned that the Earl of Kildare "was the gretest improver of his landis in this land."* The volume called "The Earl of Kildare's Rental," dated 1518, and containing the rental of his estates, a list of his plate, books, horses, &c., is now in the British Museum. For him was made the stone table, which is at Carton, and on which is inscribed, "Geraldus Comes Kildarie Filius Geraldi, A.D.N. MCCCCXXXIII., si Dieu Plet. Crom A Bo." His portrait by Holbein is also at Carton, and has the following superscription : "Geraldus Filius Geraldi Comes Kildarie. Ætatis 43, A. Dni, 1530."

* State Papers, vol. ii., p. 300.

In order to defend the Pale, this Earl settled soldiers on all the marches,* strengthening and garrisoning his castles of Rathangan, Rheban, Kildare, Woodstock, and that of the "Bridge of Athy," Kilkea, Castledermot, and Carlow.

He had great influence over the native chiefs, many of whom were under tribute to him. In a "Memorial for the winning of Leinster,"† it is stated that "the Geraldines preserved the most of them for skurges too the Kingis subjectes, at souche tyme as thei wolde be in displeasur, for the refraynyng of their appetites, and for other causes." And J. Allen, Master of the Rolls, wrote, in 1537, to Sir Anthony St. Ledger, the Lord Deputy, and the other Royal Commissioners:—"I have byn of this opinion or nowe, that Irishmen were more confyrmable to goode ordre then diverse of the King's subjects, and kept ther trowethes better, which in the Earl of Kildare's tyme was proveid true."‡

The Royal Commissioners, in their report on the state of Ireland in October, 1537,§ with reference to the custom of exacting coin and livery, state that Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, quartered 24 Galloglasses on the County of Kildare, and afterwards increased them to 120 spears, but that his son Gerald relieved the county from this charge, and assessed it upon the Irish. That the two Earls, being Deputies, took no coin from the Pale, except in passing through it, for one night and a day, or at most two. That Lady Kildare, however, not only required coin and livery for her own horses and attendants,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 431. † Ibid., p. 409. ‡ Ibid., p. 491.

§ Ibid., p. 511.

but also for those of all her guests, English or Irish, particularly when she kept Easter and Christmas. That the Earl required them for the keeper of his stud, and when he had not his Galloglasses at home, he assessed his kern and boys on the country. That he also required from every ploughland, and from every three cottages, a workman for a week in the year to cast ditches and fastnesses on the borders, and an axeman for one, or sometimes two days, to cut passages through the forests. And that when he hunted, his dogs were to be supplied with bread and milk or butter.

The Earl married first Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Zouche, and of Elizabeth, co-heiress of Lord Grey of Codnor. She died suddenly at Lucan on the 6th October, 1517, and was buried in the Abbey of Kilcullen. She had one son and four daughters :—

Thomas, tenth Earl.

1. Lady Catherine, who married Jenico, Viscount Gormanston.

2. Lady Alice, who married her cousin James, Lord Slane.

3. Lady Mary, who married Brien O'Connor Faly, Chief of Offaly.

4. Lady ———, who married Ferganainm O'Carroll, Chief of Ely O'Carroll.

The Earl married secondly, in 1519, Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, son of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV. During the Earl's imprisonment she was constantly with him. After his death she lived at Beaumanoir in Leicestershire, the residence of her brother, Lord Leonard Grey. On the 10th September, 1535, Sir William Brabazon, in a letter

to Thomas Cromwell, Secretary of State, says :—"As I am enformed, my Ladie of Kildare hath a booke of the landes latelie th Erle of Kildares. If she have eny suche, it were requisite your Maistership had the same, to thentent it might be sent hither."* The book here alluded to is probably the "Earl of Kildare's Rental." On the 16th July, 1526, the Countess wrote the following letter to the Secretary of State :—

"Please it your good Lordschep to be advertysyd, that at my commyng to Beaumanour, the 14th day of this present monthe, I found ther my son, Edward Vyze-garet, of the age of eight years, whose bryngers thether be of non acquaintans, nor no knowledge to non of myne, nor browght word wo sent hym, nor lefte tokyn, nor letter, wo he shuld be usyd. Wherefore, I besyche your good Lordshep that I may know the pleasure of the Kynges Heynes, by your good Lordsheps advyce, wo he should be ordyryd; and, if I durst be so bolde, I wolde desyer the custody of hym, becawse he is an inasent, to se hym browght up in vertu; and, as it please your good Lordshep to send me word, by your wrytyng, by this berar, howe ye wyl have hym ordyryd; your pleasur knowen, it shal be done with all the dylygence that I may. As knowyth God, wo preserve you in long lyffe, with great incesse in honor.

"Writtyn at Beaw Manowere, the 16th day of July.

"Be your Oratrix,

"ELYZABETH KYLDARE.

"To the honorable Lord,

My Lord Prevye Scelle this be gyvyn."†

* State Papers, vol. ii., p. 280. † Ibid., p. 344.

The Countess was permitted to keep her son Edward. Her eldest son, Gerald, was sick in Ireland at the time of his father's death, and was under the care of his aunt, Lady Eleanor M'Carthy, until he was sent to France, in 1539.

Holinshed relates the following anecdote :

"This Earle (of Ormonde),* one of so noble a disposition, as he would sooner countenance and support his poor well-willer in his adversitie, than he wolde make or fawne upon his wealthie friend in prosperitie. Having bid, at London, (not long before his death) the ladie Greie, Countess of Kildare, to dinner, it happened that a souldier, surnamed Powre, who latelie returned fresh from the Emperour his warres, came to take his repast with the Earle before the messenger. When the Earle and the Countesse were set, this roisting rutterkin wholie then standing on the soldado hoigh, placed himself right over against the Countess of Kildare, hard at the Earle of Ormond his elbow, as though he were haile fellow well met. The noble man, appalled at the impudent sauciness of the malapert souldier (who, notwithstanding, might be borne withall, bicause an unbidden ghest knoweth not where to set), besought him courteouslie to give place. The Earle, when the other arose, taking upon him the office of a gentleman usher, placed in Powre his seat his cousine Edward Fitzgiraldd, now lieutenant of her majesties pensioners, who, at that time, being a young stripling, attended upon his mother, the countesse, and so in order he set everie gentleman in his degree, to

* James, ninth Earl, who died in 1546.

the number of fifteen or sixtene ; and last of all the companie he licenced Powre, if he would set at the lower end of the table, where he had scantlie elbow roome. The Countesse of Kildare, perceiving the noble man greatlie to stomache the souldier his presumptuous boldnesse, nipt him at the elbow, and whispering softlie, besought his lordship not to take the matter so hot, because the gentleman (she meant Powre) knew that the house of Kildare was of late atteinted, and that hir children were not in this their calamitie in suche wise to be regarded. ‘No, ladie,’ quoth the Earle, with a loud voice, and the tears trickling downe his leeres, ‘saie not so, I trust to see the daie, when my young cousin Edward and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdaine the companie of anie such skipiacke.’ Which prophesie fell out as trulie as he foretold it, onlie saving that it stood with God his pleasure to call him to his mercie before he could see that daie, after which, doubtless, he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Kildare.”

Holinshed also says : “This noble man was so well affected to his wife, the Ladie Gray, as he would not, at any time, buy a suite of apparell for himselfe, but he would suite her with the same stuffe. Whiche gentleness she recompensed with equal kindness ; for, after that he deceased in the Tower, she did not only, ever after, live as a chast and honourable Widue, but also nightly, before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture, and there, with a solemn congee, she would bid her lord good-night. Whereby may be gathered with

how great love she affected his person that had in such price his bare picture."

By his marriage with Lady E. Grey, the Earl had two sons and three daughters :—

1. Gerald, eleventh Earl.

2. Edward, father of Gerald, fourteenth Earl.

1. Lady Margaret, born deaf and dumb, and died unmarried.

2. Lady Elizabeth, called from her beauty, "the Fair Geraldine." She was born in Ireland about the year 1528, and was still an infant when she was taken to England. She was educated at Hunsdon, the seat of the Lady (afterwards Queen) Mary, and, about 1542, was appointed one of her maids of honour. About the time she was thirteen she was seen by Henry, Earl of Surrey, who appears to have been struck with her beauty, and wrote the following sonnet on her :—

DESCRIPTION AND PRAISE OF GERALDINE.

"From Tuscan came my lady's worthy race ;
 Fair Florence was sometime her ancient seat.
 The western isle, whose pleasant shore doth face
 Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lively heat.
 Fostered she was with milk of Irish breast ;
 Her sire an Earl ; her dame of Princes' blood.
 From tender years in Britain doth she rest,
 With King's child ; where she tasteth costly food.
 Hunsdon did first present her to mine eyen ;
 Bright is her hue and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine,
 And Windsor, alas ! doth chase me from her sight.
 Her beauty of kind ; her virtues from above ;
 Happy is he that can attain her love."

It is said that Lord Surrey, at a tournament at

Florence, defied all the world to produce such beauty as hers, and was victorious. He is also said to have visited, at that time, Cornelius Agrippa, the celebrated alchymist, who revealed to him, in a magic mirror, the form of the fair Geraldine lying on a couch, reading one of his sonnets by the light of a taper. This incident has been introduced by Sir W. Scott in his 'Lay of the Last Minstrel':—

“'Twas All souls' Eve, and Surrey's heart beat high ;
He heard the midnight bell with anxious start,
Which told the mystic hour, approaching nigh,
When wise Cornelius promised, by his art,
To show to him the lady of his heart ;
Albeit, betwixt them roared the ocean grim ;
Yet so the sage had hight to play his part,
That he should see her form in life and limb,
And mark, if still she loved, and still she thought of him.

Dark was the vaulted room of Gramarye,
To which the wizard led the gallant knight,
Save that before a mirror large and high,
A hallow'd taper shed a glimmering light
On mystic implements of magic might ;
On cross, and character, and talisman,
And almagest, and altar, nothing bright ;
For fitful was the lustre, pale and wan,
As watchlight by the bed of some departing man.

But soon, within that mirror, huge and high,
Was seen a self-emitted light to gleam,
And forms upon its breast the Earl 'gan spy,
Cloudy and indistinct, as feverish dream ;
Till slowly arranging, and defined, they seem
To form a lordly and a lofty room,
Part lighted by a lamp with silver beam,
Placed by a couch of Agra's silken loom,
And part by moonshine pale, and part was hid in gloom.

Fair was the pageant—but how passing fair
 The slender form, which lay on couch of Ind!
 O'er her white bosom stray'd her hazel hair,
 Pale her dear cheek, as if for love she pined;
 All in her night-robe loose she lay reclined,
 And, pensive, read from tablet eburnine,
 Some strain that seem'd her inmost soul to find:—
 That favour'd strain was Surrey's raptur'd line,
 That fair and lovely form, the Lady Geraldine.

Slow roll'd the clouds upon the lovely form,
 And swept the goodly vision all away—
 So royal envy roll'd the murky storm
 O'er my beloved master's glorious day.
 Thou jealous, ruthless tyrant, Heaven repay
 On thee, on thy children's latest line,
 The wild caprice of thy despotic sway,
 The gory bridal-bed, the plundered shrine,
 The murdered Surrey's blood—the tears of Geraldine!"

In 1543, she married Sir Anthony Brown, K.G., who was then sixty years of age. He was father, by his first marriage with Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage, K.G., of Mabel, wife of Gerald the eleventh Earl. After his death, which happened in 1548, she became the third wife of Edward, first Earl of Lincoln, who died without issue by her, in January, 1583. The administration of his will was granted to her as his executrix. She erected a monument to his memory in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, on which he lies in armour with his lady by him.

3. Lady Cecily. On the 5th July, 1544, The King, in a letter to Sir A. St. Leger, the Lord Deputy, wrote: "And whereas the Lady Sycile, daughter of the late Earl of Kildare, hath certain plate in her hands, late belonging to her said father; we are contented and

pleased that she shall enjoy the same to her use, as of our free gift."

THOMAS, TENTH EARL.

Thomas, the tenth Earl of Kildare, was born in England in 1513, the same year that his grandfather died. In February, 1534, his father, having been summoned to appear before the King in England, and having been directed to appoint, as Vice-Deputy, some person for whom he would be responsible, nominated his son "Thomas, Lord Offaly," then twenty years of age, to that office. He advised him to be ruled by the counsel of Sir James Fitz Gerald, his uncle, Sir Thomas Eustace, his cousin, Sir Walter Delahide, and his wife, Lady Janet Eustace.* aunt to the Earl, and James, son of Sir Walter.† The young man was brave, open, and generous, but wilful and wanting in discretion. Soon after his appointment, he gave a banquet to the Lords of the Council and Chief Officers of State. The conversation having turned upon heraldry, John Allen, Master of the Rolls, said to Lord Offaly: "My Lorde, your house giveth the marmoset, whose propertie is to eate his own tayle," alluding to the Fitz Gerald supporters. The Deputy replied that "he had been fedde by his tayle, and should take care that his tayle did not eate him."‡ Another day he kept the Council, then assembled at Drogheda, waiting some hours, when John Allen, Arch-

* Lady Delahide was aunt to Thomas Eustace, and mother to James, John, and Edward Delahide.

† State Papers, vol. ii. p. 183.

‡ Cox, i. 237.

bishop of Dublin, exclaimed : " My Lords, is it not a prettie matter that all wee should stay thus long for a boy ?" The Deputy, who was at the time coming up stairs, overheard this, and as soon as he entered the room, said : " My Lordes, I am heartily sorry that you stayed thus long for a boy."* This put the Archbishop out of countenance. Both the Allens, who were enemies of the Geraldines, were much irritated by these taunts.

Soon after the Earl arrived in London, he was committed to the Tower. Robert Reilly, who remained with him till May, when he entered the service of Lord Offaly, having, in 1536, surrendered himself to the government as prisoner, said in his examination, that in June an Irishman of Kilcullen, who was on business in London, came to Lord Offaly with a recommendation from the Earl, and delivered to him a little heart of silver, gilt, and a pair of black dice, and said to him in Irish, " that he should play the gentlest part, and not trust to the King's Council there, for, if he did, he should be brought perforce into England, and there should lose his life ; and that he should keep himself out of the way as much as he might."† He also informed his friends, that he perceived that it was intended to remove him from the government.

In the beginning of June, 1534, a rumour was spread that " the Earle was to be beheaded, and that Lord Offaly and his uncles were to be apprehended." Holinshed relates that this report was further confirmed by Thomas Cannon, and other servants of Sir W. Skeffing-

* Holinshed.

† State Papers, vol. ii. p. 228.

ton, who wrote, as it were, secret letters to their friends, informing them "howe the Earl of Kildare was already cut shorter, as his issue presently should bee." One of these letters fell into the hands of a priest, who threw it among other papers, meaning to peruse it at leisure. That night, a gentleman, a retainer of Lord Offaly, lodged with the priest, and "sought in the morning, when he rose, for some paper to draw on his straye stockings, and as the divell would, he hit upon the letter, bare it away in the heele of his stocke." At night he found the paper, and on reading it, saw that it announced the Earl's death. He immediately mounted his horse, and took the letter to James Delahide, one of Lord Offaly's principal counsellors, who showed it to Lord Offaly, and, without further inquiry, advised him to rebel openly against the King, as the only means of avenging his father and saving himself. Lord Offaly being "rash and headlong, and assuryng himsele that the knot of all Irelande was twisted under his girdle," consulted O'Neill, O'Connor, and other friends of his father, who confirmed what Delahide had said, and in order that he might prosecute the war, delivered to him his father's "manors, castles, garrisons, goodes, and substances," of which they had charge, together with a large amount of the King's ordnance and artillery, that were in the castles. Their advice was, however, opposed by his father's oldest and best friends, Thomas, twelfth Earl of Desmond,* Sir Thomas Eustace, afterwards created Viscount Baltinglass, Edmund Lord Kerry, James Lord

* He was husband of Catherine Fitz Gerald, the "old Countess of Desmond."

Slane, the Lord Chancellor Cromer, and others, who, with earnest entreaties, endeavoured to dissuade him from his mad enterprise. He was, however, not to be turned from his purpose. On St. Barnabas' day, 11th June, 1534, he rode through the city, attended by a guard of 140 horsemen in coats of mail, with silken fringes on their helmets, on which account he became generally known as "Silken Thomas," and passing through Dames's Gate, crossed the river at the ford, and rode to St. Mary's Abbey, where he had summoned the Council to meet. As soon as he was seated at the head of the Council table, his followers rushed in completely armed, to the amazement of those Councillors who were not aware of his intention. Having commanded silence, he spoke thus: "Howsoever injuriously we be handled, and forced to defend ourselves in arms, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our Prince's crown availeth, yet say not hereafter, but that in this open hostility which we here profess, and proclaim, we have showed ourselves no villains, nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine. I received it with an oath and have used it to your benefit. I should destain mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoyance. Now have I need of mine own sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed as pestilent edge, already bathed in the Geraldine blood, and now is newly whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore, save yourselves from us as from open enemies. I am none of Henry's Deputie, I am his foe. I have more mind to conquer than to govern; to meet him in the field, than to serve him in office. If all

the hearts of England and Ireland, that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel (as I hope they will), then should he soon aby (as I trust he shall) for his tyranny, for which the age to come may lawfully scourge him up among the ancient tyrants of most abominable and hateful memory.”*

He then wished to surrender the sword of state to the Chancellor, but he, a learned and mild Prelate, and a well-wisher of the Geraldines, besought him, in a long speech and with tears in his eyes, not to commit so rash and so wicked an act. As he concluded, some of the horsemen, who did not understand English, were surmising what he had said, when Nelan, an Irish bard, commenced to recite in Irish a heroic poem in honor of “Silken Thomas,” and ended by telling him that he lingered there over long. Roused by this, Lord Offaly, turning to the Chancellor, said: “My Lord Chancellor, I came not hither to take advice what I should do, but to give you to understand what I mind to do. It is easy for the sound to counsel the sick; but if the sore had smarted you as much as it festereth me, you would be percase as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honor my Prince, so duty willeth me to reverence my father. Wherefore, he that will, with such tyranny, execute mine innocent parent, and withal threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not, hold him for my King. And yet, in truth, he never yet was our King, but our Lord, as his progenitors have been before him. But if it be my hap to miscarry, as you seem to prognosticate, catch that catch may; I will take the market as

* Holinshed, Hist. of Ir. p. 78.

it riseth, and will choose rather to die with valiantness and liberty, than to live under King Henry in bondage and villany.”* At these words he threw down the sword and rushed out, accompanied by his followers. The Council sent, without delay, to the Mayor, ordering him to arrest Lord Offaly and his confederates, if possible; but the city had so suffered from the plague that he had not sufficient force to do so.

Lord Offaly then rejoined his forces, which were stationed on Oxmantown Green; while Archbishop Allen and Chief Baron Finglas took refuge in the Castle, of which John White, afterwards knighted for his services on this occasion, was Constable. Lord Offaly then declared all goods and chattels, belonging to the King's subjects, forfeited, and announced his intention to exile or put to death all in Ireland who had been born in England. Foreseeing that the greatest obstacle to his success would be the opposition of the Earl of Ossory, he sent messengers to his cousin and friend, Lord Butler, son of the Earl, offering to divide the kingdom with him if he would join him, but Butler indignantly refused. Lord Offaly, however, induced many nobles and chiefs to swear fidelity to him, and sent such as refused prisoners to the Castle of Maynooth. He then collected the Irish Septs of the Pale, in order to carry on the siege of the Castle of Dublin ; from which, in the meanwhile, Finglas wrote to Cromwell, the Secretary of State, urging him to send succours without delay.† Lord Offaly having assembled his forces, sent messengers to the citizens of

* Holinshed, Hist. of Ir. p. 88.

† State Papers, vol. ii. p. 200.

Dublin, proposing to spare the city if they would allow him to enter and lay siege to the Castle. They communicated this message to the Governor, who agreed to the terms, on condition that they should first provide him with provisions and men to strengthen his garrison. Some of the members of the Government, who were most obnoxious to the rebels, having sought refuge in England, Archbishop Allen, who was in the Castle, wished to follow their example. He consulted Bartholomew Fitzgerald, who, though a Geraldine, was his most confidential servant, on the means of escape. This man undertook to be his guide, until he was beyond the bar at the mouth of the river, and provided a small vessel, in which the Archbishop embarked near Dame's-Gate, on the evening of the 11th of July. The wind, however, being contrary, the vessel ran aground on the sands near Clontarf, and the Archbishop and his followers landed and took refuge in the house of a Mr. Hothe at Artaine, a neighbouring village, intending to remain concealed until the wind should be favourable. He had, however, been but six hours there, when Lord Offaly having been informed of his flight and retreat, ordered him to be kept in custody.

Accompanied by James Delahide, his uncles, Sir James and Oliver Fitz Gerald, and about forty of his adherents, Lord Offaly went early on the morning of the 28th July to Artaine, and having placed his men round the house, he ordered "two yeomen of Dublin," John Teeling and Nicholas Wafer, to bring out the Archbishop. They entered the house, and dragging him out of bed, brought him in his shirt to Lord Offaly. As soon as the Archbishop saw him he fell on his knees, and

“besought him not to remember former injuries, but to consider his present calamity, and whatever malice he might bear to his person, to respect his calling.” Lord Offaly, struck with compassion, though still enraged, turned his horse, saying, “beir naim an bodach,” “take the churl away from me,” meaning, as he afterwards declared, that the Archbishop should be taken away a prisoner. But his followers, mistaking his words, dashed out his brains.* Holinshed says, “the place is ever since hedged and embayed on every side, overgrown and unfrequented for detestation of this fact.” Robert Reilly, who was present, does not say in his confession whether Lord Offaly actually ordered the murder or not; but on the same day he sent him (Reilly) to Maynooth, with a casket which he had taken from the Archbishop.† However, the Prior of Kilmainham, Sir J. Rawson, wrote to the King on the 7th August:—“The Archebushop of Dublyn, being in shyppe, to departe towardes Ingland, Tohmas, son to the Erle of Kylldare, causyd hym to be takyn and browght before hym, and there, in hys syght, by hys commaundement, was cruelly and shamefully murderyd, and other dyvers of hys chapelayns and servantes that wer in his cumpane.”‡

After this murder, Lord Offaly and his followers proceeded to Howth, where they seized on Lord Howth, and on their return apprehended Chief Justice Luttrell, and detained them prisoners.

In August there came to Lord Offaly from the Earl his father, Dr. Hickey, Edmund Nele, Catherine

* Holinshed.

† State Papers, vol. ii. p. 201.

‡ Ibid.

FitzGerald, and Rose Eustace.* The latter had been an attendant of Lady Kildare, and they were all probably retainers whom the Earl was obliged to dismiss.

In the meanwhile the citizens of Dublin having sent provisions by night into the Castle, informed Lord Offaly that they would admit his troops. He accordingly, on the 27th July, sent 100 men under James Field, of Lusk, Nicholas Wafer, John Teling, Edward Roukes, Brode, and Purcell (the three latter "pirates who infested the coast"), who acted as his captains, to invest the Castle. They planted two or three "falcons," and entrenched themselves so strongly as to be protected from the ordnance of the Castle. They then informed the Constable, that if he fired they would place the youth of the city on the top of their earthenworks.

Lord Offaly then sent his chaplain, Cahir M'Ranell, or Charles Reynolds, Archdeacon of Kells, to the Pope, Paul III., craving absolution for the sacrilege; and Dominick Power, with presents, consisting of "twelve great hawkes, and fourteen fair hobbies," to the Emperor Charles V., to ask for aid for the conquest of Ireland.

In the beginning of August, 1534, the Earl of Ossory having assembled all his forces, invaded Carlow and Kildare, and carried off a great number of cattle. In revenge for this Lord Offaly, O'Neill, O'Connor Faly, O'Moore, James and John Delahide, Edward FitzGerald, Sir Richard Walsh, "Parson of Loughswedy,"† John Burnell, of Balgriffen, and their adherents, laid siege to the Castle of Tullow, which they

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 228.

† Now Ballymore Loughsewdy, in Westmeath.

took after five days. They then invaded Kilkenny, with banners displayed, and plundered the lands of the Earl of Ossory, and encamped in an island in the River Barrow, near Thomastown. After some skirmishing, "the traitor Thomas sent to th Erle of Ossorie, how that yf he wold withdraw his dutie from the King, he wold departe, and devyde all Irlande with him, and accept him as his father, offering to make particion of his own enheritaunce with him. Whereunto he aunswerid, that yf his cuntrey had bene wastid, his castels wonne, or prostrate, and himself exiled, yet wold he never shrynke to persevere in his duetie to the King, to the dethe."* On the next night, Lord Ossory intended to surprise them, but was himself entrapped. As Lord Butler advanced with a portion of their forces, towards the enemy, he was on a sudden attacked by a strong body of cavalry, his men overpowered and dispersed, and being himself badly wounded by O'More's son, whom he also wounded, rode from the field to Dunmore, near Kilkenny, where he remained till his wounds were healed.† The next day Lord Offaly, being informed that, owing to an alleged infraction of faith on the part of his forces, the citizens of Dublin had withdrawn their permission to besiege the Castle, and had closed their gates, and taken prisoners all his adherents that were within the walls, offered to make a truce, which being accepted by Lord Ossory, who had to defend Tipperary against the Earl of Desmond, he marched on Dublin. On his way he seized a number of the children of the citizens, who had been sent away on account of the plague. When in September, he

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 250.

† Carte's Life of Ormonde.

approached Dublin, he sent Dr. Travers,* Peter Lynch of the Knock, and Oliver Grace, to demand the restoration of his men, and on their refusal to deliver them to him, he burnt some vessels and endeavoured to stop the springs that supplied the town with water.

He then made an assault upon the Castle from Ship-street, but was repulsed, the Constable having set fire to the thatched houses on each side of the street. On the next day he assembled the rebel forces at Thomas Court, and having cut through the partitions between the houses on each side of Thomas-street, so as to form covered galleries, they advanced through them, protected from shot, to the New Gate, which they endeavoured to burn. There were, however, in the rebel army many inhabitants of the Pale, who had been compelled against their will to join it. The citizens soon discovered this, as many of the arrows that were shot over the walls were headless, and some even conveyed letters, giving information of the besiegers' designs. Encouraged by this and by the news of the approach of succours from England, they made a brave sally, drove back the assailants, took a piece of artillery, slew one hundred galloglasses, and compelled Lord Offaly to conceal himself in the Abbey of Grey Friars, in Francis-street, whence he stole out at night and reached his quarters.†

On receiving intelligence of this rebellion the King ordered a force to be sent to suppress it, and appointed Sir William Skeffington Lord Deputy. On the 4th of October the Master of the Rolls wrote to Cromwell that "as yit the Deputie is in Bewmares" with his troops,

* Chancellor of St. Patrick's.

† Holinshed.

though the wind had been fair for twenty days, and that the horses had been on board twelve days, and implores that aid may be at once sent to Dublin, "for the los of that citie, and the castel, were a playne subversion of the lande. Also the rebell, which chieflie trusteth in his ordinaunce, which he hath of the Kinges, hath in effecte consumed all his shoote ; and excepte he wynneth the castell of Dublyn, he is destitute of shoote, which is a gret comforte and advantage for the Kinges army."*

Lord Offaly, discouraged by the last failure, and hearing of the approach of the English fleet, and having received no succour from the Emperor, sent James Delahide, Peter Lynch of the Knock, William Bathe of Dollardstown, who had been Vice-Treasurer in 1533, Dr. Travers, Chancellor of St. Patrick's and Thomas Field of Painstown to treat with the citizens for a truce, which was agreed to for six weeks, on the following terms: 1st, That Lord Offaly's imprisoned soldiers should be released, in exchange for the children of the citizens. 2nd, That the citizens should intercede for the pardon of himself and his followers. The siege having been raised on the 14th October, he then ordered his army to march to Howth, while he went to Maynooth to place the castle in a state of defence.

He was at that time in possession of the castles of Maynooth, Portlester, Rathangan, Lea, Athy, Kilkea, Castledermot, and Carlow, all strongly fortified and garrisoned. He had manned and armed several vessels, which he had placed under the command of Edward

* State Papers vol. ii. p. 202.

Roukes, Brode, Purcell, and Captain James Field. His chief allies were his cousin, Con Bacagh O'Neill, of Tyrone, his brother-in-law, O'Connor Faly, O'More, O'Byrne, M'Murrough, O'Brien, of Thomond, and most of the gentlemen of Kildare. But at that time the Earl of Ossory was on the borders of Kildare with a large force, and accompanied by a brother of O'Connor and a son* of O'Brien.

Hearing that a division of the English army, under one of the Musgraves, had landed at Howth, and was marching on Dublin, Lord Offaly with 200 horse, met it at Clontarf, and in a skirmish that ensued, defeated it, and sent all who were not killed prisoners to Maynooth. Among the slain was Musgrave, a cousin of Lord Offaly, who, himself wounded in the forehead, deeply lamented his death.† He then went on to Howth to oppose the landing of the remainder of the English troops. In the meanwhile Roukes had been scouring the coasts, and had taken several transports, and among them one laden with fine geldings, which he sent to Lord Offaly, but was unable to prevent the arrival of the fleet under Sir William Brereton.

Sir William Skeffington, the Lord Deputy, who was much reduced in energy by age and sickness, was detained by ill-health at Beaumaris in Wales for several weeks, and when he sailed on the 14th October, the weather had broken, and the fleet was driven by a storm to Lambay Island, under which it lay for shelter. It being reported next morning that Dublin had fallen, the

* Donough, son-in-law to the Earl of Ossory.

† Holingshed.

Deputy held a Council, in which it was resolved that he should sail for Waterford, while a portion of the fleet, under Sir William Brereton and John Salisbury, should endeavour to enter Dublin harbour. These landed there on the 17th, to the great joy of the citizens. Lord Offaly, as soon as he heard that succours had arrived, broke the truce, by burning the corn of the Prior of Kilmainham, and then retreated to Maynooth. In the meantime the Deputy being detained at Lambay for a week, by contrary winds, "the pirate Brode," appeared cruising off the island, but was chased by two of the Deputy's vessels into Drogheda, where he ran his vessel aground and escaped to land ; but, by the order of the Deputy, he and nine of his mariners were taken by the inhabitants and imprisoned. On hearing of this Lord Offaly threatened to take the town unless they were liberated; but Brereton and Salisbury marching there with their forces, and proclaiming him a traitor at the high cross, on market day, he was unable to do so.* He, therefore, joined O'More, O'Connor Faly, O'Byrne, and M'Murrough, who occupied his castles of Carlow, Castledermot, Kilkea, and Athy.†

Among "ordinances for the government of Ireland," issued at that time, are the following : "Item, that the pretended lybertie of Kyldare shal cesse from hensforth, and that the inhabitants of the countie of Kyldare obey the Kynges lawes before the Kynges justices. Item, th Erle of Kyldare's londes to be cessed with men of warre, and other charges, as other lords and gentlemens landes be in the same shires where his ben."‡

* State Papers, vol. ii., p. 206.

† Ibid. p. 251.

‡ Ibid, p. 210.

This liberty had been created when Thomas Second Earl of Kildare received a grant of the office of Sheriff for himself and his heirs male from Edward II. in 1317.

In September, the Earl of Ossory invaded and ravaged Carlow and Kildare, and having taken the Castle of Kilkea, made an appointment in November with Sir W. Skeffington, to meet him there with his forces, in order to carry on the war in the heart of the enemy's country. The Deputy, however, failed to do so, being ill in Dublin. Ossory then took Athy, and soon after succeeded in detaching M'Murrough from the rebel force. He then marched into Tipperary.* In November, the weather being stormy and wet, the Deputy determined not to take active measures until Spring.

In that month (November 1534) Sir Thomas Eustace and forty gentlemen of his kin submitted themselves to Lord Ossory, and gave hostages for their future loyalty. Eustace, who was nephew to the late Lord Portlester, distinguished himself by the active part taken by him from that time against his cousin Lord Offaly, and was, as a reward, created, in 1541, Lord Kilcullen. The patent, however, had been prepared in September, 1535.† He was, in 1542, advanced to the Viscountcy of Baltinglass.

Lord Offaly, encouraged by the inactivity of his enemies, approached Dublin, at the head of a body of horse. Being met, however, near Trim, by Sir W. Brereton, a skirmish ensued, in which from 140 to 160 of his men were slain, and 100 horses taken. On the 1st of December, Kildare was taken by the Lord Deputy and Brereton, but

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 251.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 445.

was retaken by Lord Offaly six days after. He then went to Trim, which he retook by assault in two hours.*

About that time was issued the sentence of excommunication against Lord Offaly and others, who were concerned in the murder of the Archbishop of Dublin (Appendix III). The copy of this document, still preserved among the State Papers, is addressed "To Mr. Lyveutennaunt at tht Kynges Tower of London," and is supposed to have been transmitted to him for the purpose of being shown to the Earl of Kildare, who, in consequence, died broken hearted on the 12th December 1534, and his son Thomas succeeded as tenth Earl of Kildare ; though he does not appear to have assumed the title, nor is it alluded to, except in the English Act of Attainder, 28 Henry VIII. c. 18.

Towards the end of December 1524, the Master of the Rolls informed Cromwell, Secretary of State, that all the country round Dublin was plundered by the "trait-detour;" that unless he was vigorously opposed, he would burn all the towns in Kildare and Meath; that he was accompanied by 100 horsemen and 300 galloglasses, with about ten muskets, but no artillery; that he boasted that he expected an army from Spain; that he had sent the Official of Meath with much of his father's treasures to embark at Sligo in a Spanish vessel for Spain, and thence to go to Rome, taking with him "diverse oold munyments and presidents, which should prove that the Kinge holde this land of the See of Rome;" and that Edward FitzGerald, "after James Delahide, the chief

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 220.

capitayne in this traterie," had been taken prisoner, and he recommended that he and Brode should be executed as well as Roukes, who had been taken, as he was landing at Wexford, with his ship and ordnance, "whereof part was the Kinges own;" he continued, that the Deputy was old and sick, and not able to prosecute the war with vigour, and he hoped that the Commons of England will grant £100,000 "for subduing of this fals traitor."*

According to the wish of the Earl, a truce was agreed on, between him and the Deputy, to last from the 19th December to the 7th January; but during that time Edward Fitz Gerald,† one of his captains, was taken and imprisoned in Dublin Castle.

In January, 1535, the English forces, under Brereton, Salisbury, Dacres, Musgrave, and Aylmer, marched into Kildare. The Earl, with O'More and Cahir O'Connor, feigned an attack on them, but did not abide battle. The English forces then marched to Maynooth and burnt the town, but after a skirmish, in which thirteen of the rebels were slain, they retreated with small loss, having burnt five or six villages.

On the 15th February, Sir William Brabazon, Treasurer of War of Ireland, wrote to Cromwell, that the Deputy had been "verie sore sicke" but was then better, and intended "to ley seege to Mynouth" on the second Tuesday in Lent; that though the captains, who had been sent into Kildare, were doing their duty

* State Papers, vol. ii., p. 223.

† Son of Sir John Fitz Gerald, and half-brother to Burnell of Balgriffin.

well, "the traytour, with a small cumpany, dailie doeth much harme in burnyng and robbyng;" and that as O'Connor and O'Reilly had withdrawn from him, he had only some kerne and a few horsemen;* and on the 16th the Master of the Rolls informed Cromwell that there was a lack of money and weapons in the royal army; that "this terme Broode, the traditours admirall, with certain of his felaws, and oon Purcell, which stale the ship ought of the Tamyse, and was now a gret capitaine under this traditour, wer arrayned in the Kinges Benche, and attainte of high treason, and adjudged to be hange, drawn, and quartered, and had execution accordingle.† But at leisure ther must be some of the gret cobbes served likewise, and the King to have ther landes, as, God willing he shall have the Erl of Kildares in possession, or somer passe. We have in warde in the Castell of Dublyn Dam Jenet Eustace, Sir Walter de la Hides wif, which was th Erle of Kildares aunt, and most of secretes with him; and by all probable conjectur, she was the chief counsailour and stirrer of this inordinate rebellion. She is the traditours foster moder; and by the Delahides, her, her 2 sonnes, James and John, Thomas Ewstace, which is her nephew, the same was begonne, and hitherto is maynteyned and upholden; and the tyme that this army scomfited the traditour, and had him in chase, for his socour he fled, with him self and a

* State Papers, vol. ii., p. 224.

† Dr. Travers, who had been left as a hostage with the citizens of Dublin, was by them delivered to the Deputy, and was executed with Roukes at the gallows on Oxmantown Green.—HOLINSHED.

boy, to her, into Delahides castle of Balyna, and ther was rescued. Also we have in warde in the said Castell Roose Ewstace, which waited on my Ladie of Kildar, untill th Erle of Kildare was committed to the Towre ; and after, as ye know, with the said Erles doughter, privailie stale hither, and put this mater forwarde. Also we have in warde, likewise, the Redd Bath, that false traditour.”* He also informed him that “John Teling, which toke my Lorde of Dublyn, and brought him to the place wher he was killed, is dead in Maynoth; and before he died he was stricken with most fowle leprie ;” “and Waffer,† his other companyon, is stricken with the French pockes and the fallen evell.”‡

On the 12th March, James Boys, or Boyce, who had been Governor of Maynooth Castle, under the Earl, wrote the following letter to Cromwell:§—

“Aftir moste humble recommendacion. It may pleas your honorable Mastership to be advertiside, that the 8th day of Marche last past, I recevid your honorable letter, dated at London, the 16th day of January next preceding, whereby I perceve the Kinges Graces pleasure is that I shuld not onely delyver unto the Countas of Kildare, or to Thomas Houthe, hir attorney, all such hir apparyll and rayment, as remayned in my custodie, but also to have certified His Highnes and his counsaill what other goods and catels I had in my keping, that apperteyned to the late Erle of Kildare. I certifie your Mastership that immediatly after the rebellion of Thomas

* William Bathe of Dollardstown. † Wafer also died at Maynooth.

‡ State Papers, vol. ii. p. 226. § Ibid., p. 231.

Fitz Gerald, I surrendrid myn office of the Constableshyp of Maynothe, and utterly refused the same Thomas is service ; who, in September last past, conveyed thens unto a castell in the Irishry, called the Castell of Ley, as well all the said Countasis apparayll and rayment, as all the substance in effecte, belonging unto the said Erle, so as at the receipte of your letter, remayned nothing of the premisses in my custodie ; and if ther had, I wold not have failed, to the uttermost of my litle power, to a fulfilled the tenour of your letter. As knowithe God, who have your most honorable Mastership in his custodie. Writtin at the Citie of Dublin, the 12th day of Marche.

“Your humble servant,

“at all commaundement,

“JAMYS BOYS.

*“To the Right Honorable, and my singuler
good Maister, Maister Secretarie
unto the Kinges Highnes.”*

A servant of James Delahide, having been taken at Drogheda, in his examination enumerated the several articles of plate delivered by the Earl to “Melour Fay,” and to the White Friars of Kildare, besides a large quantity which he left in the charge of O’Brien of Thomond. He also deposed that the Earl had given to his sister, Lady Cecily, all the hangings of Maynooth, and the late Earl’s parliamentary robes. There were also other articles left with O’Brien, consisting of apparel of the late Earl, of his Countess, and of the then Earl.*

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 317.

The Earl, at that time, had with him 120 horse, 240 galloglasses, and 500 kerne. He had also fortified Maynooth Castle so strongly, that it was supposed that it could resist any attempts of the Deputy to take it, and had appointed his foster-brother, Christopher Parese, in whom he placed great confidence, as Governor. He then went into Offaly to raise additional forces.

It had long been evident, that in order to suppress this rebellion it would be necessary to take Maynooth Castle. The Deputy, therefore, having collected the whole of his forces, marched against it, and commenced the siege on the 14th March, 1535. Having planted his artillery on the north side, beyond the river, he opened fire on that day, and continued to batter it with little effect, except destroying the battlements, and dismounting some of the cannon on the walls, until the 23rd. In the meanwhile he entered into communication with Parese, who, consenting to betray his trust, allowed the outer defences to be taken without resistance ; after which the keep was carried by assault, with little loss to the assailants. In it were taken the Dean of Kildare, Sir Simon Walsh, a priest, Nicholas Wafer, Donough O'Dogan, who had command of the artillery, and thirty-five gunners and archers. Of these twenty-five were beheaded, and one hung, as it was thought dangerous to spare the skilled soldiers. Among those who were executed were the Dean and Parese. Two persons, named James Delahide and Hayward, who were connected with the chapel, were spared at the request of

Chief Justice Aylmer, in consequence of the beauty of their voices in singing.*

The Earl had, in the meanwhile, succeeded in raising 7,000 men in Offaly and Connaught, and was on his way to relieve the Castle, when he heard of its fall. At the news of the "Pardon of Maynooth," as it is termed in the State Papers, the greater part of his forces dispersed and returned to their homes. With such, however, as remained, he advanced to Clane, where he was met by the Deputy and the royal forces. The cavalry could act on neither side, as a bog lay between them. The Deputy, however, brought two or three field-pieces to bear on the enemy, whom he thus dispersed, and took prisoners 140 galloglasses, all of whom he, on being threatened with an attack, put to death, except one who made his escape.†

After this defeat, the Earl took refuge with sixteen gentlemen and priests in Thomond, intending to sail from thence to Spain. He, however, changed his mind, and instead of making the voyage himself, he sent his cousin, James Delahide, and Sir R. Walsh, "the Parson," to the Emperor Charles V. to treat for succours. Among the State Papers is a letter from John Cheryton, dated at Cadiz, 16th July, 1535, in which is the following passage: "My Lorde, for to sertify your Lorshippe of the nwis that is here, the 14 day of June, ther come to Cadix for Imbaxador, a man of Erlonde, hois name is Sir Jamys de la Hyde, and has brought letters to the

* "Castle of Maynooth." State Papers, vol. ii. p. 236, and Holinshed.

† Holinshed.

Emperor from Thomas Fegarit, wher in his petision is that the Emperor will give hym aid with men, and ordinse.”* Delahide and Walsh joined Power, who had been sent before, and after many delays, were received by the Emperor, who told them that it was then too late, as their master and his five uncles had been executed in London. Charles V. afterwards procured from Henry VIII. a pardon for Power, and granted him a pension of a ducat a day. But not wishing to return to Ireland, he remained at Lisbon, and died there. James Delahide, who had been “chief councillor” to the Earl, and in consequence included in the Act of Attainder, after assisting his cousin, Gerald, to escape, took refuge in Scotland, where he died.

The Irish chiefs now gradually submitted to the Deputy. In May the Earl of Ossory brought M'Murrough and O'More to Maynooth, and induced them to join the royal cause. All the Earl of Kildare's castles were taken in succession, except those of Crom and Adare in the county of Limerick.†

After Whitsuntide the Earl returned to Kildare, leaving his plate in the care of O'Brien.

In July, aided by O'Connor Faly, he assaulted and took the Castle of Rathangan. Sir William Brabazon, ancestor to the Earl of Meath, then laid siege to it, and was in hopes to have taken the Earl in it, but he made his escape at night. The Earl now harassed the garrison which the enemy had placed in his castles. One morning he caused a herd of cattle to be driven near Rathangan,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 247.

† Ibid., p. 254.

and when a portion of the troops came out to take the booty, he attacked and cut them off. Another day he set fire to a village, and caused some of his men, who spoke English, to ride in haste to Trim with the information; and when the garrison sallied forth, he attacked them and slew several, and forced the rest to take refuge in a church.* In July, 1535, Chief Baron Aylmer, and the Master of the Rolls, Allen, wrote to Cromwell from Beaumaris that the remissness of the captains, and shameful disorder of the soldiers, were the causes of the destruction of the land; that Kildare and many other towns were burnt; that if the Treasurer, Brabazon, had not been at Naas, that town and the country, to the gates of Dublin, would have also suffered; and that as carts with provisions were on their way from Naas to Rathangan, Thomas FitzGerald, aided by O'Connor, had tried to intercept them, but the Treasurer, with an inferior force, had repulsed them, killing sixteen of his horsemen and the captain of the galloglasses.† These continued attacks caused so much alarm, that no Englishman would take command of Rathangan Castle, which had twice been taken by assault. At length, at the Treasurer's request, Sir James FitzGerald, the Earl's uncle, consented to be appointed Governor, and kept it safely.‡

The Treasurer, intending to march into Allen, where the Earl and his followers had entrenched themselves, ordered O'More and his followers to join the royal forces, with whom were Sir James FitzGerald and his

* Holinshed.

† State Papers, vol. ii., p. 260.

‡ Ibid., p. 264.

brother Walter, and other gentlemen of the County of Kildare. On the 3rd August, 1535, after having entered Allen, and burned and plundered the country around, the English troops, at the suggestion of O'More, retreated, but in reality only so as to occupy the various passes. O'More then sent some of his kernes to skirmish with the rebels, and draw them into the plain, while he, with his galloglasses, got between them and their fastnesses, so that they, to the number of between 400 and 500, were surrounded, and would have been all slain or taken prisoners if some of the English soldiers, making off with their booty, had not left a gap through which most of them escaped. Sir James and Walter FitzGerald, and the Geraldines also, suffered them to pass. O'More's men, too, would not strike Lord Kildare's men, but many of the O'Connors were slain by them, though mostly by the troops of the Treasurer. Some prisoners, among whom, it is said, was the Earl himself, were taken, but let go again by the Geraldines and O'Dempseys. Burnell of Balgriffin, Felim Boy O'Connor, and William Keating, "Captain of the Keatings," were, however, made prisoners. The former was sent to London, imprisoned in the Tower, and at length executed at Tyburn at the same time as the Earl. The two latter were liberated on giving hostages for their future good behaviour. Keating undertook to drive the Earl out of the fastnesses of Kildare, and allured from him most of the Keating kerne, in whom consisted his chief strength, owing to their numbers and knowledge of the country.*

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 266.

Soon after Lord Leonard Grey, who had arrived from England, to take command as Marshall of the army, went to Rathangan, where the Earl had, in a wood near the bog, a "stronge house, made all of erthe, and so ditched, watered, and of soche force, as men of experience said, that being manned, ordenaunced, and vitted, it had not been pregnable." This he burnt and destroyed.*

After the liberation of Keating, the Earl could no longer remain in Kildare, and was forced to retire into Offaly. On the 18th of August, Sir W. Skeffington, who had been lying ill at Maynooth, but who had recovered sufficiently to venture on an expedition, assembled his forces, and with Lord L. Grey and Lord Butler advanced to the borders of Offaly. Upon this, O'Connor seeing no alternative to save himself from ruin, sent in his submission to the Deputy. Deprived of his last ally, the Earl wrote to Lord L. Grey the following letter, which is now in the State Paper office, and is wholly in his hand writing :—

"After all dw recummendations, I hartely recummend me unto your Lordshyp, sertyfying you, that whereas I have done any thyng contrary agaynst my Sovyryng Lorde the Kinges Grace ys mynd, cam nothyng of my owne mere mosyon, butt onely by your cownsayll, the which bene in your Lordshypys cumpany now, as ben Thomas Ewstas and Gerald Gerott, Shane ys son, with dyvers othyr, by the which I was gowernyd att that tyme, and dyd nothyng butt after their mynd ; the

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 266.

which I reportt me to all the Lordes of the Englys pale. Wherefore I hartely desyre your Lordshyp to be intersessor betwyxt my sayd Ys Grase and me, that I may have my pardon for me, and myn lyff and landes, the which shall not be ondyservyd to the uttermost of my power ; and yff I cannott optayne my forsayd pardon, I have no nothyr to do, butt shyfte for my sylff, the best that I can; trustyng in God, who preserv your Lordshyp,

“ By your lovyn Frend,

“ T. FITZ GERALDE.

“ *To the Ryght Worsyppfull, Lord Leynard Gray,*
“ *delyver this with spede.*”

The Earl was accordingly admitted to a conference. On the 18th August, Lord L. Grey rode from Maynooth into Offaly (King's Co.), where, on the border of the bog of Allen, the Earl met him, and surrendered himself to him and Lord Butler, to be disposed of according to the royal pleasure.

Holinshed asserts that he asked for a parley, and that Grey having sent hostages to his camp, he, at the conference, submitted himself to the King's mercy, on the promise that he should be pardoned, as soon as he should arrive in England ; and that, in order that there should be no treachery, they both received the Sacrament openly in the camp.

However this may be, Sir W. Skeffington, in a letter to the King, dated “ from the Campe at Castel Iredayne, 24 August, 1535,” wrote :—“ Yt may please your most excellent Highnes to be advertized, that wher as by my

rude letters sent to Your Grace, that I, by th advise of your Counsall, with your army, was determined to march forthward, and hostinges, the 18 day of this present month of August, uppon O'Chonor, and the traditour Thomas Fitz Gerald, with others that be succored with him in Ofaileigh ; I have accordingly ther unto advanced your said army, as well with the power of your Graces band of the worth of this land, as otherwise enterd into the borders of the said O'Chonors countree ; who per-sevinge that there was noe waye els, but his utter destruction and banishment, came in and yielded him selffe unto me, Your Graces Deputie, and Counsall, and offered to put in his pledges into my hands, to habide and performe, the sayeing of 4 indifferent personns, in all thinge, to the contentation and accomplishment of your Graces pleasour. And all soe the said traditour, Thomas Fitz Gerolde, with divers others his complices there beinge with him (consideringe that he could not be succored further by the said O'Chonor, and that his band and strength was by policie alured from him), hath, in like manner, submitted and yealded himselfe to Your Highnes mercy and pittie without condition, either of pardon, lyfe, landes, or goodes, but only submittinge him selfe to Your Grace ; soe that his desier is, now that he is brought to uttermost extremitie, to be conducted to Your Highnes by the Lord Leonard Gray.*

The Council also, in a letter to the King, dated from the camp, 27th August, report, "The seid Thomas Fytz Gerald, by suche meanes and policies as was used (in

the presence of Sir Rice Maunsfell, John Salisburie, and William Sentlowe), fynally confessyng his abhominable offences towerdes Your Highnes, yelded hym self into the handes of the seid Lord Leonerd, to be presented to Your Grace by the seid Lord Leonerd, and me, the seid James Butler ; to be ordered concernyng his lyf or otherwise, as shuld please Your Highnes. According whereunto, the seid Lord Leonerd repayryth, at this season, to your Majestie for that purpose, bringing with hym the same Thomas ; beseching Your Highnes, moost humbly, that according the comfort of our wordes spoken to the same Thomas to allure hym to yelde hym, ye wold be mercy full to the seid Thomas, especially concerning his lyf." They also recommended Lord L. Grey to the King's notice for his eminent service, "for no doubte the seid Thomas wold yelde hym self to noon other, but onely to hym."*

From these extracts it would appear that some promises had been made to him "to allure hym to yelde hym," and the King also, however glad to have him in his power, expresses his displeasure at the conditions, whatever they were, in a letter written to Sir W. Skeffington, in Oct., 1535 :—"Right trustie and well beloved, We greet you well. And have as well perceyved by the tenor of your letters, as by th advertisementes from our Counsaill, the maner of the apprehension of Thomas Fitz Gerald, in your last jorney intended agaynst hym and O'Chonor ; the doying wherof, albeit We accepte it thankfully, yet if he had beene apprehended after suche

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 275.

sorte as was convenable to his deservynges, the same had been moche more thankfull and better to our contentacion. Nevertheles, for your industrie, paynes, and deligens used therein, We give you our harty thanks, assuryng you that We accepte and esteme that and other your good service, mynystred unto Us ther and elles wher, in suche sort, as besides the laude and prayse worthie thereunto, moche to your fame and commendacion, We woll have the same in our remembraunce, to your comfort and condigne reward and advaancement.”*

At the end of August the Earl was sent prisoner to England ; and so great was the importance attached to his security that Lord Leonard Grey was appointed to accompany him. Holinshed relates, that as they were on their way to Windsor, where the King then was, Henry sent an order for his imprisonment forthwith in the Tower of London.

It is probable that the King was undecided how to act with regard to the Earl, and that the opinions of leading statesmen were consulted, as the Duke of Norfolk,† in a letter to Cromwell, dated 9th September, wrote as follows :—“As concernyng the traytour’s takyng, I am sorry, as ye be, that it had not be of a nother. But yet thanked be God it is thus ; for by the same His Highnes shall not only eschewe gret charges, but also the knowledge therof shall highlie redownde to his honour in all countrees, no thyng to the plesure of his enemys.

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 280.

† He had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

I dowte not ye woll streitle examyn hym, of all suche as hath confederate with hym, and most specyally what answers he hath had of th Emperour and the Kyng of Skottes. And, accordyng to my accustomed facion, playnle to show myn opynion in all thynges concernyng His Highnes affaires, I am of the mynd, as yet, and shalbe unto I shall here better reason to the contrary, that in no wise he shuld be as yet put to execusion; quod defertur, non aufertur. And these be part of the reasons to lede me theronto. One is, that consernyng the facion of his submyssion, my Lord Leonard, and my Lord Buttler, shuld for ever lose their credight in Irlond; which wer pite, for they may do gode service. Another is, that sewerly the Irishe men shall never after put them selffes in to none Inglishe man his handes; wiche if they do not (consideryng that dayle, for dyvers causis, many of them shall offend), His Grace shalbe inforced incontynent to procede to the generall conquest of the lond; for onles they do parle for attemptates done, eyther the Deputie most procede to a war with all suche personys, or suffer the Kynges trew subjectes to be destroyed. One other cause, what th oppynions of many may be, that be disposed rather to speke ill, then will, if he shuld, upon his suche submyssion, be shortly put to deth, I report me to your high wisdom. And, as I thynk, ther is but one of these 3 ways to be taken; eyther execusion shortly, or pardon of lyff, or commytyng to sewer pryson for a tyme. To the furst I have showed myn oppinion. To the second I thynk in no wise to be done; for it wer the worst insample that

ever was, and specially for these ongracious people of Irlond. To the 3th I have in like wise before shewde my poure opinion.”*

The advice of the Duke to keep “the traytor” in prison, and to execute him, should it seem good at a future time, was followed.

On the 13th September, the Lord Chancellor of England, Thomas Audley, wrote as follows to Cromwell :—

“I have be lately enfourmed that the erraunt false treytour, Thomas Fitz Garrald, is taken; but the fame runneth, that he shold submyt himself, uppon certayne condicions and appoyntementes, that he shold comme unto the Kinges presence fre out of warde; which I, being a man of very little experience, and lesse witt, beleve not that the Counsaile of Irlond, or any other, wold take any such appoyntement with so erraunt and cankrid a traytour, and specially that he sholde come in the Kinges sight, fre and out of warde. If this be intended, that he shold have mercye, I mervel moch, that dyverse of the Kinges Counsaile in Irlond have soo largely told the King, afore this tyme, that ther shold never be good peax and ordre in Irlond, till the bludde of the Garrolles were holy extinct. And it was also saide, that the Irisshemen spared their effectuall diligence in the persecucion of him, bycause they herd he shold have pardon, and then he wolde revenge; and now it semeth, they wold procure him mercy. They be people of a strange nature and moche inconstancy. The Kingis Highnes may do his pleasure; but my pore

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 276.

advise shold be, that the saide false treytour shold never come to His Graces sight, for the evill exsample may groue of hit, to corage traytors. The verey good waye were to send him to the Tower. And albeit his tresons were done in Irland, out of this realme, yet, by the newe statute made for treasons,* he may be indicted in any shere of this realme wher it shall pleas the King, byfore such Commissioners as his Grace woll apoynt by his Great Seale ; and when he is indicted, the inditement to be sent to the Kinges Bench and there let him appere. And thus, fiat justicia. This waye he maye be shortly spede, after his desertes ; and therby shall grow good example and drede to such traitours, except it may appere, that by his keeping alive, ther shold growe any knowlegge of treasons, or other commoditie to the Kinges Grace. What so ever I wright in this behalf, I praye you take it in good part, for it is but my pore conceyt ; not doubting, but that the Kinges Highnes, with your advise, and other of his Counsell now present with his Grace, will order this mattier better, than my wit can devise.”†

Immediately after the apprehension of the Earl, 500 men were discharged from the royal army.‡ This was a necessary act, as it is stated that this Geraldine rebellion had cost the King £40,000.§ Lord Leonard Grey received £316 for his expenses in taking the Earl to England, and for the reward of his services.||

Besides this, for that time, heavy expenditure, the country had suffered terribly. It is stated that the

* 26 Henry VIII., c. 13. † State Papers, vol. i. p. 445.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 427. § Ibid., p. 331. || Ibid., p. 422.

Lordship of Maynooth, which had been worth 400 marks per annum, was completely devastated ; that six out of the eight baronies of the County of Kildare had been burnt ; that the O'Tooles had taken Powerscourt Castle, one of the fairest garrisons in the country, which had cost the Earl of Kildare and the inhabitants of the Co. Dublin between 400 and 500 marks ; and that the people on the lands which had belonged to the late Earl of Kildare were slow in taking the farms.* For the last grievance the remedy suggested was to pass an act of forfeiture.

The Irish Government were not satisfied with the capture of the Earl alone. On the 10th September, Sir William Brabazon writes to Cromwell : “ Seth the departure of the rebell, Thomas FitzGerald, owte of this the Kinges roialme, all his folowers and adherentes be repaired into their owne dwellyng places, and so be all his uncles ; who I wold were in England, for as long as thei here remayn, thei will never be obedient. There hertes be so sturdie, if ever the seid traytor doo repayre hereunto any more, the Kinges Grace haith waisted all this labor and coste. My poor advise shal be to discharge this land of all the secte of them ; then shall this cuntrey be in quietnes, or elles not. Examinacion wold be had of the seid traytor, wher his evidences and bookes doo remeyn, so that they might be had.”†

It was at length determined that the five uncles of the Earl, and Gerald his half-brother, should be arrested. Accordingly in February, 1536, the Deputy, Lord L.

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 263.

† Ibid., p. 278.

Grey, who had succeeded on the death of Sir W. Skeffington, on the 31st December, 1535, invited Sir James, Walter, and Richard FitzGerald to a banquet at Kilmainham. These three had been opposed to the rebellion of their nephew;* and not suspecting any treachery accepted the invitation. In the middle of the feasting they were seized and manacled. The other two, Oliver and John, were also apprehended before they heard of their brothers' capture; and all five were then lodged in Dublin Castle. Their nephew, Gerald, was saved by being carried off by his tutor, Thomas Leverous.†

The three brothers, who were first arrested, had little cause to expect that the Deputy entertained designs against them, for on the 13th March, 1535, he wrote: "Richard Fittz Gerold, which is comen into the Kinges Grace service, and have no doubt but that he will contynue truley, as hitherto it has proved." And again of Sir James, to whom he had given the command of Talaght: "The said Sir James, is, in lyke case, comen to the Kinges service and shewith him self lyke a true man."‡ "Reilly," in his examination, said that James Delahide and Sir John Fitz Gerald were the Earl's chief advisers, and that he took advice of all his uncles, though Richard never "bare him good heart and favour."§ James, Walter, and Richard are not included in the Act of Attainder.

On the 14th February, 1536, the Council of Ireland, in a letter to Cromwell, wrote: "Please it you to be advertised that th Erle of Kildaris five bretherne, by the

* Ware's Annals.

† State Papers, vol. ii. p. 234.

† Holinshed.

§ Ibid., p. 225.

Lord Leonarde, High Justice and Governor of this your lande, being apprehendid, he and we have sent to the Kingis Majestie, at this tyme, by the Maister of his Gracis Rolles, and Chief Justice ; whiche, in oure opinion, is the best dede that ever was doon for the weale of the Kingis pore subjectes of this lande ; assuring your Mastershipp that the said Lorde Justice, the Thesaurer of the Kingis Warris, and suche others as his Grace put in truste in this our behalf, have highly deserved his moste gracious thanks for the pollitique and secrete conveying of this matier, which was noo les beyonde the expectacion of all men here, than it was joyfull to all the Kingis subjectis to see the same brought to suche perfeccion. And, noo doubt, thei be noo more glad and comfortable thereof, than they wolde be in despaire, if either Thomas Fitz Géralde, or any of them, shulde reasorte hither agayne, after any other sorte, than to receyve according to their demerities.”*

So important was considered the capture of the five Geraldines, that they were accompanied to England by the Chief Justice and the Master of the Rolls. Holinshed relates, that as the brothers were sailing for England, Richard, who was “more bookish than the rest, and much given to the studies of antiquitie,” amused his brothers “sometime with singing, sometime with grave and pithie apophthegmes.” Happening to ask the captain the name of his vessel, he was told that it was the “Cow.” Dismayed at this he said, “Now good brethren, I am in utter despair of our return to Ireland, for I bear

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 304.

in mind an old prophecy, that five Earl's brethren should be carried in a Cow's belly to England, and from thence never to return. Whereat the rest began afresh to houle and lament, which, doubtlesse, was pitifull to behold five valiant gentlemen, that durst meete in the field five as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so sodainly terrified with the bare name of a wooden Cow." They were also imprisoned in the Tower of London.

In a document, still extant, it is recorded that the allowance to Thomas, Earl of Kildare, as state prisoner, for board and bedding, during sixteen months (the duration of his imprisonment), was 20s. per week. To Sir James and Sir John Fitz Gerald, Knights, for eleven months, each 10s. To Walter, Richard, and Oliver Fitz Gerald, for eleven months, 6s. 8d., and for "Burnell, the Irishman," for eleven months, 6s. 8d.*

The arrest of the five Geraldines caused a general panic in the Pale, as many of the gentry had been concerned in the rebellion, and they thought that their turn to be arrested would soon come. The following is an extract from a letter from Sir Francis Herbert, alderman of Dublin (who had been knighted for his gallant behaviour during the siege of Dublin), to Cromwell, dated 21st March, 1536 :—"Allso and ples your Maistersep, the gentyllmen of the counte of Kyldare ar the most sorryst afrayt men in the world ; for thei thynkkes that thei shalbe taken, on after a nother of them, as Sir Jamys FitzGerald was, and hes brethyryn."†

* D'Alton's Kildare, MS.

† State Papers, vol. ii., p. 308.

On the 1st May, 1536, the first Act passed in the Irish Parliament, which commenced sitting on that day, was for the attainder of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Thomas FitzGerald, his son and heir, Sir John and Oliver FitzGerald, James, John, and Edward Delahyde, John Burnell, Sir R. Walsh, "Parson of Loughsewdie," Piers, Robert, and Maurice Walsh, Chale McGravyll, otherwise Charles Reynolds, Archdeacon of Kells, James Gernon, Christopher Parese, and Edward Roukes. (Appendix 4.)

An English Act, 28 Henry VIII. c. 18,* was passed in same year, for the attainder of Thomas, "*Earl of Kildare*, his five uncles, and their accessories."†

On the 1st June, 1536, the Deputy and Council wrote to Cromwell that most of the inhabitants of the four shires had joined in the rebellion, and were consequently included in the Act of Attainder; that hence, the King's manors, which had belonged to the late Earl of Kildare, remained uncultivated; and they recommend that as Lord Kildare and his uncles were in the Tower, and others had been executed, a commission should be issued to grant pardons; but that the Geraldines should on no account be suffered to return to Ireland.

On the 9th August, the Council wrote to Cromwell (who had been created, in July, Lord Cromwell, and appointed Lord Privy Seal): "O'Brien, havynge a gret part of the Erle of Kildares plate and goods, woll neyther delyver the same, ne yet put from hym the Erle of Kildares sonne,‡ ne his servauntes." Again, on the

* Or cap. 2 of the Private Acts. † State Papers, vol. ii., p. 323.

‡ Gerald.

22nd August : As long as Desmond and O'Brien have power, "neyther shall His Grace recover to his possession suche landes in thois parties, which appertayned to th Erle of Kildare, being goodly castels, manors, and countres."*

In August, Robert Cowley also, in a paper, written for Lord Cromwell, advised that : "Item, where the pretensid Erle of Dessmond hath lately, as a conqueror, enterid into all the Kinges castelles, garysons, manours, and landes in the countie of Lymerik, which apperteyned to the late Erle of Kildare and accrued unto the Kinges Highnes by the atteynder of the said late Erle of Kildare," the Lord Deputy should "recover the said landes and garysons to the Kynges possession."† The following is among "Articles concerning Ireland," drawn up by Cromwell :—"Item, that the said Treasourer may knowe the Kinges pleasure howe he shall order Sir James Fitz Gerald and Rychardes landes as wel that they have in their own right, as in their wives right ; and that knowen, it shalbe necessary that the acts of theyr atteynder be certified into Ireland, &c."‡ In October, 1536, the Master of the Rolls, J. Allen, writes to the King :—"I am sure th Erle of Kildares landes been wors by 300 markes at the least, by the yeere, than they were when Maynoth was wonne."

The prisoners in the Tower seem to have received little indulgence. Towards the end of 1536 Lord Kildare wrote to one of his followers, John Rothe, the following letter :—

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 364.

† Ibid., p. 366.

‡ Ibid., p. 369.

“Ihs,

“My trusty servant, I hartely commend me unto you. I pray you that you woll delyver thys othyr letter unto Obryen. I have sent to hym for £20 starlyng, the which yff he take you (as I trust he woll) than I woll that you com over, and bryng ytt onto my Lord Crumwell, that I may so have ytt. I never had eny mony syns I cam in to pryson, but a nobull, nor I have had nothyr hosyn, dublet, nor shoys, nor shyrt but on ; nor eny othyr garment, but a syngyll fryse gowne, for a velve furryd with bowge,* and so I have gone wolward, and barefote and barelegyd, dyverse tymes (whan ytt hath not ben very warme) ; and so I shuld have don styll, and now, but that pore prysoners, of ther gentylnes, hathe sumtyme gevyn me old hosyn, and shoys, and old shyrtes. This I wryt unto you, not as complaynyng on my fryndes, but for to show yow the trewth of my gret nede, that you shuld be the more dylygent in goyng onto O bryen, and in bryngyng me the before sayd 20£, wherby I myght the soner have here money to by me clothys, and also to amend my sclender comyns and fare, and for other necessaryes. I woll you take owte of that you bryng me, for your costes and labur. I pray you have me commended onto all my lovers and frendes, and show them that I am gude helthe.

“By me,

“THOMAS FYTZ GERALD.

“To my trusty and welbelovyd

“servant, John Rothe.”

* Budge, lamb's fur.

Enclosed in this letter was the following :—

“Jhesus,

“My specyall and welbelovyd frynd, I hartely commend me onto you. And I beseke and pray you to delyver and send me by thys berer, my trusty servant John Rothe, 20£ sterlyng, upon the plate that you have in custody of myn. And in so doyng you shall show me very gret kyndnes and plesure, for I have now very gret nede ; also, I beseche you, that you do not breke nor square with the Deputye, but rather agre with hym. And also, I beseche you, to helpe and ayde hym in the Kynges besynes, yf he have nede ; and so shall you do the Kynges Grace plesure, the which you may be sewer Hys Grace woll bothe remember and reward, and in so doyng you shall also bynd me to do for you eny thyng that shall ly in my power.

“By your lovyng frynd,

“THOM^s FYTZ GERALD.

“*To my trusty and welbelovyd
frynd, O Bryen.*”*

The Earl appears to have amused himself, like many other prisoners, by engraving his name on a stone in the wall of the “State Prison,” where may still be seen “THOMAS FITZ G.” It was never completed, probably in consequence of his death.

At length, on the 3rd February, 1537, the Earl, after an imprisonment of sixteen months, and his five uncles, of eleven months, were executed as traitors at Tyburn, being drawn, hung, and quartered.

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 402.

So great was the influence of the Geraldines in Ireland that even in February a report of their return caused much commotion in the Irish Parliament.*

The death of the six Geraldines is thus noticed in the Annals of the Four Masters :—"1537, Thomas, the son of the Earl of Kildare, the best man of the English of Ireland of his time, and his father's five brothers, whom we have already mentioned, namely, James Meirgeach, Oliver, John, Walter, and Richard, were put to death in England, on the 3rd nones of February ; and all the Geraldines of Leinster were exiled and banished. The Earldom of Kildare was vested in the King ; and every one of the family, who was apprehended, whether lay or ecclesiastical, was tortured or put to death. These were great losses, and the cause of lamentation throughout Ireland."

Holinshed thus describes the tenth Earl :—"Thomas Fitz Giralde, upon whom nature poured beautie ; and fortune by byrth bestowed nobilitie, which had it been well employed, and were it not that his rare gyfts had been blemished by his later evill qualities, hee would have proved a ympe worthie to bee engrafte in so honourable a stocke. Hee was of stature tall and personable ; in countenance amicable ; a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicately in eche lymme featured ; a rolling tongue and a rich utterance ; of nature flexible and kinde ; verie soon caryed where hee fansied ; easily with submission appeased, hardly with stubbornness weyed ; in matters of importance an headlong hotespurre,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 407.

yet natheless taken for a yong man not devode of witte, were it not, as it fell out in the ende, that a foole had the keeping thereof."

He married Frances, youngest daughter of Sir Adrian Fortescue, Knight, who was beheaded in 1540, and had no issue. On the 24th May, 1535, Thomas Agard wrote from Dublin to Cromwell: "I thinke Mr. Pawlett will cumme with the nexte wynde, and with him, Thomas the traytors wyffe. He lovys hir well (a prima facie). Howbeit I can not perceyve that sche favors him soo tenderlye."*

GERALD, ELEVENTH EARL.

Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, was born on the 25th February, 1525. He was twelve years of age at the time of his brother's arrest, and was then lying ill of the small-pox at Donore in the Co. Kildare. His nurse immediately committed him to the care of his tutor, Thomas Leverous, a priest and foster-brother of his father, who carefully conveyed him in a large basket into Offaly, to his sister, Lady Mary O'Connor. There he remained until he had perfectly recovered, when he was removed first to "O'Dunn's country," and after three months to Thomond,† where he was under the care of his cousin, James Delahide, eldest son of Sir Walter Delahide of Moyglare.

The misfortunes of his family had excited great sympathy for the boy over the whole of Ireland. This made the Government anxious to have him in their power; and they endeavoured accordingly to induce

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 244.

† Holinshed.

O'Brien to surrender him to them. On the 22nd Aug. 1536, six months after the apprehension of the five Geraldines, his uncles, the Council in Ireland wrote as follows to Lord Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal: "And as to O Brene, notwithstanding his letters and promises of subjection and obedyens to the Kinges Highnes, we coulde neyther gett hym to condescend to anny conformyte according the same, ne yet to delyver th Erle of Kyldares plate and goodes ; * but having the same, and th Erle of Kildares seconde sone, with dyverse traditors of the servauntes of the said Erle and Thomas Fitzgerolde, and reteyning thaym, as it wer, under his protection, booth therein, and otherwise in his commynication and deades, usith himself after that sorte, as he thinckith it not to be his duty to recognise the Kinges Majestie."†

In the same month, Robert Cowly, in a paper written for Cromwell, advised: "Item, that the Deputie and Counsail practise and devise pollytikely, with all diligence, to have this yonge Gerot, James Delahide, and their complayces apprehendid, for they sease not to worke myschief."‡

After remaining about six months in Thomond, Delahide and Leverous took Gerald, who but for the attainder would have been Earl of Kildare, as his brother had just been executed on the 3rd February, 1537, to his aunt, Lady Eleanor M'Carthy, the widow of the late and mother

* These had been entrusted to him by Lord Thomas, and was, on the 2nd September, 1542, granted to him by the King, State Papers, vol. iii. p. 419.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 363.

‡ Ibid., p. 367.

of the then M'Carthy Reagh.* She resided at Kilbriton in the Co. Cork, in the territory of her son. M'Carthy was at that time in alliance with and tributary to the Earl of Desmond.† The Government therefore endeavoured to persuade the latter to give up Gerald. On the 9th August, 1537, Cromwell wrote as follows to Sir Anthony St. Ledger: "The Kinges Majeste hathe sertein knolege, that the same Jamys of Desmonde hath in his countre Jamys de la Hyde, on called Parson Walche, two most detestable traytors, and the sonne of the late Erle of Kyldare, whiche he may delyver at his wyll. Wherefore his Gracys pleasur is, that at your furst conferens with hym, and in your practyse for the same, if you shall think it convenyent, you shall declare that it is come to your knolege, that he hathe in his countre the sayd persons and lyke men, that semyd of your selfys to favor hym, and wold be glad to have hym do that thing, that might for his owne benefyt, be acceptable to His Majeste ; you shall bothe demaunde the said 3 persons, and advys hym the best you can, for an doubted argument of his treuthe, whiche in wordes and wryting he sewith, to delyver the same to the Depute. And if you shall not induce hym therunto, you shall yet assay by all meanes to you possible, whow to gett in to your handes the said persons, eyther with his wyll, or agenst his wyll, for I ensure you the Kinges Highnes hathe the same moche to hart, woll accept your service to be don therein most thankfully."‡

* He married the daughter of M'Carthy More, and succeeded him, on his death, in his chieftancy.

† James, fifteenth Earl. ‡ State Papers, vol. ii. p. 467.

In October, the Earl of Desmond agreed, on obtaining a lease of "Crome, Adare, and other the late Erle of Kildares landes in the countie of Lymeric, to pay the rents thereof to the Kings officers." The object of this arrangement on the part of Desmond appears to have been to enable Gerald to obtain possession of his father's castles and manors, as on the 30th December Sir W. Brabazon wrote to Cromwell as follows:—"And to advertize youre Lordship of young Garret, who, as I am informed, lieth about Crome and Adare, my Lord Deputie, not onelie by sendyng of letters, but also by privey messyngers, doeth and hath done the best he can to atteym hym."*

In order to carry on negotiations with the Earl of Desmond, Royal Commisioners were appointed, and a conference was held between them and William Walsh, Mayor of Youghal, and Patrick Gold, of Kilmallock, Secretary to the Earl of Desmond, on the 10th December, 1537. The following are among the articles delivered by the Commissioners:—"Item, where as the yonge Gerald FitzGerald, sonne to the late Erle of Kildare, hath withdrawen hymself from the Kinges Majesty without grounde or cause, His Grace, nothing myndyng to the said Gerald FitzGerald, but honor and welthe, and to have cherished hym as his kynsman, in like sorte as his other brother is cherished with his mother in the roialme of England, we require the said Lord James of Desmond to writ unto the said Gerald FitzGerald, advising hym in like sorte as his uncle, the Lord Deputie, hath doon, to submitte hymself to the Kinge, his Sovraign Lord, and

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 528.

if he will not so doo at his gentyll monicion, then to procede ayenst hym, and his complices, as ayenst the Kinges rebelles and disobaysauntes. Item, if the said Gerald FitzGerald doo, at the monicion of the said Lord James of Desmond, submitte hymself, and comme to the said Lord James of Desmond, upon certificat therof to us the said Commissioners made, we the same Commissioners concede, that the said Gerald FitzGerald shall have the Kinges most gracious pardon for his said absentying, and for all other offences doon to our said Sovraign Lord, and to be from thensforth taken as the Kinges true and loving subject.”*

These terms were evaded by the Earl, who was aware that Gerald, now the chief of the Geraldines, would soon become the rallying point of a confederacy of the Irish Chiefs.

A negotiation had for some time been carried on for a marriage between Manus O'Donnell of Tyrconnell and Lady Eleanor M'Carthy. She at last consented to it, at the urgent desire of her kindred, who hoped thus to secure an asylum for Gerald, and to form an alliance which should eventually lead to its restoration. In May, 1538, messengers were sent by O'Donnell, O'Neill,† and the Earl of Desmond, to Lady Eleanor, who, with her nephew Gerald, accompanied by James Delahide, Sir Richard Walsh, (who had been chaplain to the late Earl, and who had returned from his fruitless mission, to the Emperor,) Thomas Leverous, and a slight escort, went into Thomond,

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 537.

† Con Bacagh, first cousin to Gerald, and younger brother and successor of Turlogh and Art O'Neill.

where she was hospitably received by O'Brien. Thence they proceeded into Galway, to Ulick de Burgh, afterwards Earl of Clanricarde, who escorted them to the northern M'William Burke, of Sligo, and from thence they passed into Tyrconnell or Donegal, without having experienced any obstruction.

This journey from the south to the north of Ireland is remarkable as showing the sympathy of the Irish population and the want of information on the part of the Government, who, notwithstanding the anxiety of the King to obtain possession of Gerald, were only informed of his departure and of the marriage of Lady Eleanor with O'Donnell by common report after both events had taken place.

On the 5th June, 1538, the Treasurer, Sir William Brabazon, wrote to the Chief Justice, Aylmer, and the Master of the Rolls, Allen :—" The late Erle of Kildare his suster is gon to be maried to Manus O Donell, with whom is gone yong Gerrot, Delahides, and others, which I like not."* And on the same day Justice Luttrell wrote to Aylmer :—" Elyenour Fitz Gerrot, lat wyff to Mac Carty Ryagh, is past throw Tomownd and so throw Conaght to Ulster, to Manus O Downyll to mary with hym ; and with her is gon Gerrot, son to the late Erle of Kildar. We doubt part of his goyng ther, lest his trust scholdbe, by the aide of the North and Scotland, to mak werre. But O Neyl saith he wyll kep good peace."† On the 10th June, the Council of Ireland, in a letter to Cromwell, stated :—" Furthermore, one Alienor Fitz Gerald, sistir to the late Erle of Kildare, late wiff

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 18.

† Ibid., p. 19.

of a gret capiteyn of Mounestrè, named Mc Carte Riaghe, who hathe bene the principale refuge and succor of the yonge Gerald Fitz Gerald, and sithen his departure out of the Englishry is now,e, withe the same Gerald, two of James Fitz Gerald's sonnys, and other his adherentes, departid out of Mounestre, throwe O Brenes countre and Connaght, to O Donyll, to thentent the said Alienor shuld be to O Donnyll married ; so as the combynacion of O Neill, being nere of kyn to the said Alienor and Gerald,* with O Donyll, and them unto whome Irishe Scottes oft tymes resortithe, and in a maner are at ther draght and pleasure, is moche to be doubted."†

On the 28th June, the Earl of Ormonde wrote as follows to the Council of Ireland: "Pleasid your Wisedomes to be advertysid, that nowe is come to me Teige Mc Cormoke, the laste Cormoke Oges sonn, and hath advertysid me that my Lady Ellenor Fitz Gerald, th Erle of Kildares suster, which was Mc Artte Reaghes wife, and the yonge Gerald, the said Erles sonn, be departid and gone from Monyster to O Donnyll is contre; and, as the saide Teige saith, he, ne his wife, the said Ellenors doghter, was not previe to his departing, with the said yonge Gerald ; and Mc Artte Reagh, that now is, hir sonne, went with him to James of Desmond, where they did mete O Donyll and O Neiles messingers, that came against the said yonge Gerald ; and there, togethers with the messingers, the said Ellenor and Gerald toke their jorney to O Brene, and therhense to Mc Willam,

* Son of Lady Alice Fitz Gerald, sister of Lady Eleanor.

† State Papers, vol. iii. p. 28.

and from thense to the other Mc Willam is contre, and so forth throughe the Irishrie, till they came within 7 myle to O Donyll is contre, where oon Ee Mc Craghe, a rymor, which dwellith in the contre of Tiperarie, then being in that partie at lernyng, dud mete with them, and kepte company togethers, till they came to O Donills house ; and after ther comyng thether, the said O Donyll hath sent for O Neill, the yonge Geraldес nighe kynnysman, who glad came to them, and there, by the procurement of the said Ellenor, the said O Donyll and O Neile were bounde and sworne togethers to take oon parte with the said Gerald against the Englishrie, and have fond suerties, otherwise callid slanteghe, the oon of them upon the other, according ther olde use and custome, for the due performans of the same. The said rymor, then being present, have seyn and harde ther combynacion after that sorte as they ar fully determynid to take oon parte with the said yonge Gerald against the Englishrie ; and hath appointid 24 horsmen, well apparailid, to wayte upon the said Gerald, at his pleasure. This rymor telte me that the comen reaporте was, thrughe O Donyll is contre, that the Scottish King have sent to O Donill that he should fynde the meanes to send the said Gerald to him to Scotland ymediatly after his comyng to O Donill ; to what purpose or intente I can not tell ; but I do think perfectly that the sendinge of this yonge boy to O Donyll and O Neille was partely practisid and devisid by James of Desmond, O'Brene, and other Irishmen of Monnyster of the Geraldyns secte. And if any stirring be, I insure you, that Fargananyм O Karroll will be oon of the principall and chief

captains of the same, what so evyr shall be said or reaportid to the contrary." * And again on the 20th July, in a letter to R. Cowley, the Earl wrote : " Sethens my last writting both to my Lord Previe Seale and you, I have had witting out of Ullestere, that O Donell and Tiege Mc Kahill Oge, nowe called O'Connor Connaght, who were hitherto mortall enemyes togethers for the castell of Slygoo, and brought nowe to be frendes, and determynid to take oon parte with the yonge Gerald against the King, by the meanes of my Lady Ellianor Fitz Gerald, the Erle of Kildares susther, who have practised many others in Connaght and Ullester to be of the same mynde The Bishop O'Donyll,† James Delahide, Maister Lurons, and Robert Walshe, ar gone as messingers from O'Donill, O'Neill, and the yonge Gerald, th Erle of Kildares sonn to Scotland, to praye ayde of the Scottishe King ; and before ther going all the gentilmen of Ullester, for the more parte promeysid to reteyne as many Scottes as they had broght with them, at ther owne costes and charges, during ther being in the countre." †

On the 12th December, 1538, in a letter from the Council to Cromwell, it is stated that it is reported that Gerald had made his escape to Scotland ; and that having examined James Bathe, one of the " Deputies counsaile," whether he had any knowledge of it, he declared that about twenty days before, Prior Walshe had

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 44.

† Bishop of Derry.

‡ Ibid., vol. iii., p. 52.

written from Ulster to the Deputy, saying that in three or four days Gerald intended to sail over the sea.*

In May, 1539, Lord L. Grey wrote to the King that O'Neill and O'Donnell had agreed to meet him at Carryc Bradagh, near Dundalk, on the 30th April, and had promised to bring Gerald to the Lord Deputy; that neither appearing, he had marched into Armagh; but that being impeded by heavy rains, he had concluded peace with O'Neill.†

On the 31st October, 1539, Lord L. Grey wrote from "the Kinges Castell of Maynuth" to Cromwell:—"At thys tyme I thowght that O Neyll and I showlde have mett, and the sayd Geralde wolde have come with hym; and yf the caes had soo chaunsed, I wolde surelye have takyn him; and yf not, by the othe that I have made to my soveraign Lorde and Master, I wolde have taken the sayd O Neyll and a kept him, tyll he had causyd the sayd Geralde to have byn delyvered to my handes."‡

On the 26th May, 1539, Sir William Brabazon wrote to Cromwell as follows:—"It is good your Lordship move the Kinges Majestie, that by sum maner of meanes this boy might be had, thogh he shuld be bought of sum of the traytors aboute hym, and thei to have their pardons, whoez power after his taking is nothing."§

On the 10th July, J. Allen, in a letter to Cromwell, advises that five or six ships and 700 or 800 men, with artillery, should be sent to the coast of O'Donnell's country, while all the troops in the country should march

* State Papers, vol. iii.. p. 110.

† Ibid., p. 156.

‡ Ibid., p. 126.

§ Ibid., p. 133.

there by land, to force O'Donnell to submission, for "as long as this yong traytor Gerald, and his cumpany, be abroad, we shall never be in securitie here ;"* and he encloses "the confession of Connor More O'Chonnour, servaunt and messenger to yong Geralde, son of the late Erle of Kildare," made before the Chancellor and others on the 17th April, 1539, in which he states that he was a servant of the Deputy, and had been sent two years before to Gerald, with whom he had remained ; that, by the advice of O'Neill and O'Donnell, he was sent by Gerald to the O'Tooles of Wicklow, to inquire what aid they would give him ; that they had replied that they would assist him, and that the Earl of Desmond, the Byrnes, and the Kavanaghs would do the same ; that Gerald would have come to the Deputy, but that O'Neill would not allow him ; and that Art Oge O'Toole, had sent to Gerald before Christmas "a saffirn sherte dressed with silke, and a mantell of Inglish cloth fringed with silke, and certen money."†

On the 8th September, 1539, Robert Cowley, in a letter to Cromwell, wrote : "By the pestiferous workyng of this O'Downylles wife, th Erle of Kyldares syster, they, whoos auncestors were ever at discencyon, bee made oon, and their powers concurring have practysid to allure to theym, many capeteyns of Irishmen, which never before was towards any of theym, as Clane e Boy, O'Roryk, M'Coglyn, O Cahan, Magwyre, Nele Conelagh, McDermot and many moo ; so that there never was seen in Irland, so great a hoost of Irishmen, and Scottes, bothe of the

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 137.

† Ibid., p. 139.

oute Yles, and of the mayne land of Scotland ; and on the other syde, the pretendid Erle of Dessmond hath all the strength of the West.”* He continues that the Lord Deputy had, however, so discomfited the Northerns, as to have prevented their junction with Desmond, and that the cause of this confederation was that they considered the King to be a heretic. Further on he says : “ I ensuere your Lordship that this English Pale, except the townes, and very few of the possessioners, bee soo affectionat to the Geraldynes, that for kynrede, maryage, fostering, and adhering as followers, they coveite more to see a Geraldyn to reigne and triumphe, then to see God come emonges theym ; and yf they might see this yong Gerotes baner displayed, if they should lose half their substance, they wold reyoise more at the same, then otherwise to gayne great goodes.”†

In the beginning of 1540, the Irish confederacy was still in existence. On the 18th January the Lord Deputy (Grey) and the Council inform the King that “ the detestable traictors, yonge Geralde, O Nele, O Donyll, the pretendid Erle of Desmonde, O Brene, O Connor, and O Mulmoy,” continued to destroy the property of His Majesty’s subjects, to subdue the whole land to the supremacy of the Pope, and to elevate the Geraldines.

About the middle of March, 1540, Lady Eleanor O’Donnell, suspecting that it was the intention of her husband to surrender Gerald to the English Government,

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 145.

† Ibid., p. 148.

resolved to send him away. She engaged a merchant vessel of St. Malo, which happened to be in Donegal Bay, to convey a small party to the coast of Brittany. She then gave 140 gold portugueses to Gerald, and sent him with his tutor, Leverous, and Robert Walsh, a faithful servant of his father, on board in a small boat. He was dressed in a saffron coloured shirt like one of the natives. The vessel immediately set sail, and arrived safely at St. Malo, where Gerald was hospitably received by the Governor, Mons. de Chateaubriand.*

Bartholomew Warner, an agent of the English Government, who sent an account of this transaction to Sir John Wallop, the English Ambassador in France, says that it was arranged by O'Donnell himself; but Stanishurst, who had conversed with Gerald after his restoration to the earldom, on this subject, says that it was Lady Eleanor who planned the escape, and that having secured the safety of her nephew, she reproached O'Donnell for his treachery, and telling him that the only inducement to marry him no longer existing, she would not remain with a traitor, "and trussing up bag and baggage, she forsoke O Doneyle, and returned to hir country."

On the 17th March, 1540, Grey wrote as follows to Cromwell :—"It was bruted that yong Geralde went in to Fraunce, wich thing then I thought best shuld not abyn noysed, tyll surer knoledge had byn thereof; serteifieng your Lordshipp that syns Orayle, Sir Gerald FitzGerald Knight, th Abbot of Clonard, hath sent me

* Holinshed.

sure word that the said Geralde ys departid into Fraunce, for every of them sent spyes at my commaundement to know the trouthe, who hath brought them sur worde of his departur, as thei have advertised me. I doubt not your Lordship will work herin for his apprehension, as ye shall thinke good. Wold God he wer ons in holt, or ryde out of the worde. It shuld be mych for the quyetnes of the Kynge's poor subjectes here."*

The following account of Gerald's escape is contained in a letter, signed "Barthilmew Warner," and addressed : "A Monseigneur, Monseigneur l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, estant a present a la Court de France. A la Court." and dated, "Rennes, 22nd May, 1840."

"Pleasythe hit your Lordship to understonde, that at my cummyng hither, I have (according as I am bownde chefely to Gode and to my Prince, as also to fullfyll your Lordships commaundement) enquiryde, as diligently as I cowlde, bothe of Ynglishmen and other, and sent also one, which is my solicytor in this towne, to St. Malo, purposely to lerne the maner how the brother of Thomas Fylzgareth was convayed owt of Irland, and of hys aryvyng in the partis. Wher he was instruct, on the maner folowing, of the selfe parsone which brought him over, whos name is Allen Governors, dwelling in St. Malo, that he, being with his shipe on marchandyse in Yrlande, ner unto thos parties wher great Adonels abyding is, ther came unto him the sayde Adonel, with certeyne other (as men callythe them) religiouse parsones, or men of the Church, the which intreatyd with

* State Papers, vol. iii., p. 193:

him to bring over the sayde Fylzgarethe ; the which thing was agreyd, and an acte passyd between them, sygnd by a notary. The name of the place wher yt was made, nor of the notary, my sayde solicitor cowlde not tell me. In the which acte he was bownde to render him saffe alande at St. Malo, and the other that should pass lykewyse with him, and a certeyne number of silver vessell also. The sayd Fylzgarathe was convayde aborde the ship in the nyght in a small cocke, havynge on but a saffronyd shurt, and barheaddyd, lyke one of the wyllde Yreshe and with him 3 persons. The one was a prest, his name they know not, but they say he is his scole master,* and hathe governyd him ever sins the deathe of his father, the which they say also kepythe him so under, that, and yff he rebuke him never so little, he treamblythe for fear. The secondes name they heard say is Robert,† his surname they knew not. And the other he herde not callyde by his name, wherefore he cowlde give me no knowledge therof. After ther departing from Yrlande they arryvd at Murles,‡ wher as he was well receyvyd of the captayne, whiche leadde him throughe the towne by the hande ; wher he taryed 3 or 4 days, and straghtwayes the captayne sent word to Monsieur de Chaterbriande off this arrivynge there. And a young man of Waterforde, which is her in sewt, as I ame, olde me that he herde of a marchant of Merles, that ther wer certeyne Yngleshe marchantes, that went to se him, and to speake with him ; but thorough the meanes of the prest, as we suppose, the captayne wold not

* Leverous.

† Robert Walsh.

‡ Morlaix.

suffer them to cumme ner him. And frome thens they came in the sayde shippe to Saynt Malo, where he was also well rescyvyd of them of the town, and specially of Jacques Quartier, the pilott, whiche your Lordeship spake off at my beeing at Roune,* who leadde him to the captayns deputye of the towne, which welcomyd him according to his powr. And ther he taryed 5 or 6 dayes, lodegyd at the aforenamyd Alen Governors howse, wheras the most parte of Ynglese marchantes ar lodegyd when they cumme thether ; and ther Monsieur de Chaterbriands post met him, whiche, as I conjectur, ledde thether horse for him, for he brought non owt of Yrlande with him, nor yet great store of money, for he was fayne to give of his silver vessell for his passage. And on Ester Tewsday at nyght, ryding one his journey towards Shaterbriand, he aryved in this towne accompanyd with sayd post, and with him also Jacques Quartier, Alen Governor, with divers others of St. Malo. And her he made the sayd Alen Governor aquitanse for that he was bownde in Yrland, as well for his parson, as for his plate, and the other that camme with him. And in all this cowntre, wher he passyd, he was, and is to this day, namyd to be King off Yrland, and that the King our Master hathe disheretyd him of hys ryght. The which thing I think to prosede sonner of them of St. Malo, than of the sayd Gareth or of eny of his, for they say that they cowlde speake scant a word of Frenshe. And the next day in the mornyng, which was Wednesday, the proquor for the burgoyes of this towne went to his lodegyng and welcomyd him, desyring him to tary

* Rouen.

all that day to se the towne, and the commodites thereof ; the which Monsieur Chaterbriands post refusyd by cause he was commaundyd to bring him strayght thether ; wher he was well resseyvyd, and servyd like as shuld apparteyne to a man of great estat. And from thens, as one Monsieur Chaterbriands servantes tolde me, that he departyd towarde the Cowrt ; and, as yt is sayd, he goythe thether to presente himselfe to the Dolfine, to desire him of ayde. And summe agayne saythe, that he goythe to desyr him to bring him into his Princis grace. I trust your Lordship knowythe the trowthe long or this time, for I marvel that he was not aryvyd at the Cowrt, before your Lordships departing from Roune, except he hathe left that purpose, and is gone to the Bishoppe of Rome, fearing the treatis of peace, which is betwen the King our Master and the Frenshe King ; which thing they of St. Malo, and specyally thos that brought hym over, dothe fear lykewyse, lest they shulde be punyshed for ther bryngyng hether of him. Hit is pitie that he hathe hade so yll cownsell, to use him self in maner agaynst his Lorde and Prince, for they say that he is a propre yong gentilman.”*

In August, 1540, O'Donnell, having made his submission, received a letter of forgiveness.† It is remarkable that his wife, Lady Eleanor, did not sue for pardon until 1545. O'Neill also, and O'Connor Faly, having submitted, were pardoned, the former in September, and the latter in November. The Earl of Desmond was acknowledged as Earl in February, 1541, and O'Brien's adhesion was given in the November following. In

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 211.

† Ibid., p. 231.

that year also a pardon was granted to "Owen Keynan, of Cappervarget, near Rathangan, Harper, otherwise O. Keynan, servant of Gerald, late Earl of Kildare, otherwise Owen Rymour, otherwise Keynan, the Poet, otherwise O. Keynan Keyege, Bard," and to Cornelius Keynan, his son.*

For some years previously complaints had been sent to England of the conduct of Lord Leonard Grey,† in favouring Brian O'Connor Faly, Ferganainm O'Carroll, Murrough O'Brien, and other friends of the Geraldines. On the 28th March, 1538, James White wrote to Cromwell of Lord Leonard: "His inventions and proceedings is supposid to be suche, conforming him selfe much to the counsaile of thos, that wer great about th Erle of Kildare and his suster, that he hath in maner alyenatid from him the appetittis of the Kinges most treu and faithful subgietes;"‡ and on the 26th April, 1538, Matthew King also, in a letter to Cromwell: "O'Conour ys lyke to do well, for as yet he is abedient. He hath ben all this Ester with my Lorde Deputie at Maynowth, and 10 of his horsemen with him." On the 20th June, Lord Butler, in a letter to A. Cowley, says: "My Lord Deputie is the Erle of Kildare newly borne againe, not oonly in distruyendo of thoos that alway hav servid the Kinges Majestie, but also in mayntenynge the hole secte, band and aliaunce of the said Erle, after so vehement and cruell a sorte, as the like hath not been seen, to be bydden by. O'Connour, that evyr hath been the oonly

* Dalton's Kildare, MS.

† He was uncle to Gerald.

‡ State Papers, vol. ii., p. 562.

scourge of the English Pale, who hath marid th Erle of Kildares doghter, is his right hand ; and who but he? O Karroll, nowe Fargannanym, that hath married the said Erles other doghter, and was alway the conductour of the traictour Thomas Fitz Gerald to the Irishrie, is now in favour with him, noo man like, next to O'Connour. In so mouche that he hath lately sent his household servauntes and his awne company, with the said Fergannanym, to besiege the castle of Byrr ; which, as you knowe, is my Lord my Fathers inheritans ; like as the Erle of Kildare dud at the beginyng of his rebellion, &c. O Neile, th Erle of Kildares kynnysman and cheife band, who alway, as well in my Lord of Northfolkes tyme, being the Kinges Lieutenant, as also in Sir William Skeffington is tyme being His Graces Deputie, was the scourge that the said Erle had uppon the bordores of Mith and Uriell, when the said Erle wolde procure him to styrrre, is now mouche made of by my said Lord Deputie ; in so mouche that he do the promeys to bringe him to Dublin to bere the swerde afore him, as he deed before the Earl of Kildare.”* Among Aylmer and Allen's accusations against Lord L. Grey in June, 1538, are the following : “Oon Thomas Albanagh, late messenger to th Erle of Kildare, a false traitor, and nowe in grat truste with my saide Lorde ;”† and “where yong Gerot, son to the late Erle of Kildare, being the said Lorde Deputies susters son, was not oonlie at the said Lorde Deputies commaundement, and in his custodie, long

* State Papers, vol. iii., p. 32.

† Ibid., p. 38.

before the apprehensyon of the Geraldynes ; but also, being and contynuyng within 3 myles of Maynothe, a good space after their apprehension, the same Geralde departid out of the countrey peaciblye to the Kinges ennemy's and rebelles wher he now is."*

Of St. Leger, however, Thomas Agard wrote on the 4th April, 1538 : " As for Irland, excepte it be a verrey few, which owe ther hertes to the Garroldyns, and are bronde at the hertes with a 'G.' for the same, I thinke, the will sey ther never cam man of his degree lyke in favor thorrow the lande, as he is.†"

In September, 1540, the King wrote to St. Leger, ordering articles of accusation to be prepared against Lord Leonard Grey, who had been created Viscount Graney. These articles were forwarded by the Council in October, 1540.‡ Among them are the following :—

That being Deputy, he had formed a private council of friends of the Geraldines, viz., Justice Ths. Howth, James Bathe, Sir Gerald FitzGerald, Walter Golding of the Grange, and John Field.§ That though Gerald was long in Kildare with his tutor Leverous, he had suffered them to depart. That he corresponded with Gerald while the latter was in an Abbey on the borders of Westmeath. That he had a servant called Robert Walsh, brother of Prior Walsh, and son of William Walsh, standard-bearer to the late Earl of Kildare, which Robert, having been standard-bearer to Thomas Lord Offaly, on the committal of the latter to the Tower, had taken his

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 39.

† Ibid., vol. iii. p. 248.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 567.

§ Ibid., p. 209.

jewels to Lord L. Grey, who concealed them, and only surrendered a portion of them on its becoming known that they were in his possession ; that he had appointed R. Walsh keeper of his chamber-door, and of the door of the Council chamber and Parliament House ; and that Walsh, having left his service, had entered into that of Gerald and had accompanied him into Munster. That Lord L. Grey had so much confidence in O'Connor, as to pass through his country with a very small retinue into O'Carroll's country, of which Ferganainm was chief, who was foster-son and son-in-law to the Earl of Kildare, and who had been the King's open enemy in the late rebellion ; that he then passed into Desmond, where he met the Earl ; that in Thomond he had formed a friendship with O'Brien's wife, who was sister to the Earl of Desmond, and who had been " an entier friend to the traitor Thomas FitzGerald ;" that he then passed into Connaught, having as safe conduct only one of O'Brien's galloglasses, bearing an axe before him ; and that he had then deposed the M'William from his seignory of Clanricarde, and appointed to it Ulick de Burgh. That in consequence of his connexion with the Geraldines, he was opposed to the Butlers, and persecuted their friends. That he was god-father to O'Neill's son, who was nephew to the Earl of Kildare. And that he had promised a pardon to Gerald and Leverous if they would surrender themselves, and had repeatedly sent Prior Walsh to Gerald in Tyrconnell.*

These and other charges not only led to Lord Graney's

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 248.

recall in 1540, but to his conviction for high treason, and to his execution on Tower Hill on the 28th June, 1541.

The Earl of Kildare, many years subsequently, being asked, if it was true or false that Lord L. Grey had corresponded with him, and had assisted him in his escape, replied that "he never spake with Lord Leonard Grey, never sent messenger to him, nor received messenger nor letter from him."*

Gerald remained a month with Monsieur de Chateaubriand, who sent a messenger announcing his arrival to Francis I. The King sent for him to Paris, and placed him with the young Dauphin, afterwards Henry II.

As soon as it was known that he was in France, the English Ambassador, Sir John Wallop, made a formal demand that the terms of the treaty, by which each of the two Sovereigns was bound not to harbour any subject of the other when called upon to deliver him up, should be fulfilled in this case, and added that the boy was the brother of a notorious traitor, who had been executed in London. Francis evaded this demand, requiring a special commission to that effect from his sovereign. Wallop then despatched a messenger to England for further instructions.

On the 6th September, 1541, Thomas Barnaby wrote to Henry VIII. from Rouen, that he had been sent a short time before, by Sir John Wallop, to the French Court, to procure letters to various parts of France, and particularly to the "Lieutenante Creminell of Paris, for the taking of Garret Fiz Garret, with those that were

* Holinshed.

with him." That he had long sought for them in vain, but had at last arrested a "Breteyn, named Vyncent Noblet," who had been Gerald's guide, by order of the Commandant of Morlaix, and with him one Darby, and had seized "such stuffe and money" as Gerald had in his lodging, but could not find the boy himself. That, on the 26th January, 1541, on his way from Paris to Rouen, he had met Noblet, who was going to the fair of Rouen, and had invited him to dinner; and, having become very intimate with him, had asked him where Gerald was. He at first denied all knowledge of him; but when he said that he would be well rewarded if he would cause the child to be delivered up, and that it would be a meritorious act, as the boy would hereafter curse the time he first knew those who had led him into rebellion against his Prince, he replied that he would not for £20,000 have him given up, except under a promise of pardon; that "he loved the child above all men, and wished in God the Kinges Majestye knewe his vertuous and gentill condicions that war in him;" that he had heard him often say "that he wold to God that he were in the Kinges favor, and with his mother in England;" that Walsh and Leverous, as soon as they could get money, intended to go to Cardinal Pole; that Walsh was "a stubborne kankerde-harted fellowe," and kept the child in great awe, and beat him naked if he spoke to any one he did not like, but that Leverous was a right sober man, who wished "the child had his pardon."*

* State Papers, vol. iii. p. 281.

To relieve the King of France from farther embarrassment, Gerald was privately sent with Leverous to Valenciennes in Flanders, then part of the dominions of the Emperor Charles V. The English Ambassador, however, sent one of his suite, James Sherlock, to Valenciennes, as a spy upon their movements. Leverous discovered this, and gave information of it to the Spanish Governor, who sent for Sherlock, and under pretence that on examination he could not give a satisfactory account of himself, threw him into prison. He then sent Gerald to Brussels, where the Emperor held his Court.

Charles V. was willing to protect Gerald, but as the English Ambassador, Dr. Oates, had been instructed to demand his surrender, he was sent privately to the Bishop of Liege, the Emperor allowing him a hundred crowns a month. The Bishop treated him very honourably, and placing him in a monastery at Liege, watched over his safety. After he had been there six months, his kinsman, Cardinal Reginal Pole, who had in the meanwhile received intelligence of his place of retreat, invited him to go to Italy. Gerald, before his departure, resigned his pension to the Emperor, and the Cardinal, on his arrival at Rome, settled upon him an annuity of 300 crowns, and treated him with the greatest affection. He placed him successively with the Bishop of Verona, the Cardinal of Mantua, and the Duke of Mantua, in order that he might be fully instructed as a scholar and an accomplished gentleman. The Duke added a pension of 300 crowns to that which he already received from the Cardinal. His tutor, Leverous, who had watched

with so much fidelity over his safety, was at the same time, through the interest of Cardinal Pole, admitted into the English monastery at Rome, called St. Thomas' Hospital ; and Robert Walsh returned to Ireland.*

In the years 1544 and 1545, it was rumoured in Ireland that the King of France was preparing to land a strong force to accompany Gerald to that country. On the 20th May, 1544, Sir William Brabazon, who held the office of Lord Justice in the absence of the Lord Deputy, and the Council of Ireland, wrote to Henry VIII. that the Mayor and citizens of Wexford had informed them that "by suche espyall as they have from parties beyonde the sea, yong Geralde, th Erle of Kyldares sonne, late being in Italy, ys come into Brytayne, to the town of Nantes ; at what place ther ys, by appoyntement of the Frenche Kyng, a navy prepared to sett the sayde Geralde, with an armye, into this your Realm," and that the inhabitants of Waterford, hearing that they intended to lay siege to the city, were making preparations to resist the invaders. They therefore advised that the Royal forces should be increased, as they suspected that the McCarthys and O'Connors Faly would be ready to join the enemy.† Again, on the 13th June, they stated that they were informed that a force of 15,000 men were assembled at Brest.‡ And the 14th April, 1545, Sir A. St. Leger wrote to the Privy Council that he was informed that in the beginning of summer there would be sent to the North of Ireland a "certeyn capteyn of the wylde Scottes, and

* Holinshed.

† State Papers, vol. iii. p. 501.

‡ Ibid., p. 504.

that the French King wolde sende yonge Gerralde, with some power with hym, to joyne with the said Scottes ;”* and again, on the 6th of May, he wrote, that in case of invasion, he had caused beacons to be erected round the coasts.† In June, 1545, however, Lady Eleanor O'Donnell having received the royal pardon, all fears of invasion appeared to have subsided.

When Gerald had been at Mantua eighteen months, Cardinal Pole recalled him to Rome, and continued to overlook his education, “ordering his masters to correct his faults, but himself not appearing to be aware of them.”‡ In 1544, when he was eighteen years of age, the Cardinal consulted him as to whether he wished to continue his studies, or to travel to foreign courts, and thus become acquainted with the world. He chose the latter, and proceeded, with letters of introduction from the Cardinal, to Naples, where he became acquainted with some Knights of St. John, and accompanied them to Malta. Two of his uncles had belonged to that Order, which, probably, led to his acquaintance with the Knights. He soon after sailed to Tripoli, which was at that time a fort of the Knights on the coast of Barbary, and served for six weeks under Montbrison, the commander of the garrison, against the Turks and Moors. During the time he was with the Knights, they took and plundered some rich towns and villages near the coast. He consequently returned to Malta with honour and a large amount of booty.

* State Papers, vol. iii., p. 514.

† Ibid., p. 517.

‡ Holinshed.

At the end of about a year, in 1545, he returned to Rome, where he was joyfully received by the Cardinal, who increased his pension from 300 crowns to £300, and introduced him to the service of Cosmo de Medici, Duke of Florence. Cosmo appointed him Master of his Horse, with a pension of 300 ducats per annum, in addition to the £300 which he received from the Cardinal, and the 300 crowns from the Duke of Mantua. This pension was for his life, or until his Irish estates should be restored to him. He remained at the Court of Cosmo for three years.

The following adventure, which happened to him at that time, is related by Stanihurst, who had conversed with the Earl, and to whom he probably related it :—Having “travelled to Rome a-shroving of set purpose to be merry,” he was one day hunting with the nephew of the Pope, Cardinal Farnese, when, in the eagerness of the pursuit of a buck, he became separated from his company, and, being unacquainted with the locality, fell into a deep pit. His horse was killed by the fall, but grasping some roots at the side of the pit, he clung for some time to them, and when he could hold no longer, slid down upon the body of his horse, and stood upon it for three hours, over his ankles in water. When his favourite Irish greyhound, named “Grifhound,” missed his master, he followed his track, and stood at the edge of the pit howling. Cardinal Farnese, and his train, having meanwhile sought for him in vain, were at length guided to the pit by the barking of the dog; and having procured ropes in a neighbouring village,

they succeeded in rescuing him, "to the singular gratulation of the Cardinal and all his friends."*

It is mentioned in the "Gherardini Papers," that Gerald was about this time staying on a visit at Padua and Venice, with Monsignor Piero Camesecchi, and with him visited Florence, where he, probably, made acquaintance with the members of the Gherardini family. It is also mentioned that some Florentine merchants, having visited England in 1550, had brought back some dogs as presents from the Earl of Kildare, and that in 1566, Monsignor Girolano Fortini, having announced his marriage with a daughter of Piero Gherardini, to his brother Pagalo, in London, received soon after a letter from him, in which he said that he had met the Earl of Kildare, who had given him several kinds of dogs, which he had forwarded to his brother at Florence.

Gerald remained abroad until after the death of Henry VIII., which happened in 1547. He then went to London with some foreign ambassadors, accompanied by his old friend, Thomas Leverous. He was considered one of the handsomest young men of his time. At a masque given by Edward VI., he met Mabel, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, K.G., Master of the Horse to the King, and step-daughter of his sister, Lady Elizabeth. She fell in love with him, and they were soon after married. Through the influence of his father-in-law, he was received into favour by the King, who knighted him, and restored to him his Irish estates by letters patent, dated at Westminster, on the 25th April, 1552.

* Holinshed.

On the 11th November, 1551, Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy of Ireland, wrote the following letter to the Duke of Northumberland :—

“ Yt maie please your Grace to be advertised, that wheare sondrie Busshoppricks in this land be voyde, as Armagh, Cassell, and Osserie, to which chardge I knowe of no men yet nomynated, but do dayly looke the Counsellis pleasures therein, and specially Armagh, at wiche place, yf some discrete man war appoynted, and chefully suche a man as had lyvyng in England to mayntayne hymself, that thereby he mought be able to take chardge as a Commyssioner in those parties, without which ordre taken there, and in other places, it is not possyble that the varyance and questions, which shall dayly ryse can be decydyd. And for thother Busshoppricks, beyng nere at hand in the more quyeter countrey, we have not here any for suche a chardge, saving one Leverosse, that was skoole master to the Lorde Garrett, who for lernyng, discrecon and (in outwarde apparaunce) for good lyvyng, is the metyst man in this Realme, and best able to preache both in the Englishe and the Iryshe tonge. Nevertheles forasmuche as he was thought an offendor, for conveying the said L. Garrett out of the Realme, and notwithstanding syns had his pardon, I dare not become a suter for hym : albeit, as I have said, I knowe no man so mete. I hard hym preache suche a sarmon, as, in my symple opyneon, I hard not in meny yeares. I have alredy wrytten in favor of the Busshopp of Kyldare for the Busshopprick of Osserie, doubting lest my sute for this man wolde not take place, howbeit yf your Grace think

good upon this comendacon to preferr the man, I shalbe hable to avouche asmuche as I have said. Kylmanam, the 11th of Novembre, 1551.

“Your graces evermore bounden

“at commaundement,

“JAMES CROFT.*

“To the Duk of Northumberlendes grace.”

It is remarkable that Leverous was thus recommended in the reign of Edward VI. as the fittest man to be called to the Episcopal Bench, to which he was afterwards raised by Queen Mary, when on the 1st March, 1554, he was appointed Bishop of Kildare, in succession to Thomas Lancaster, who was deprived for having contracted marriage, and also Dean of St. Patrick's, being the first after the restoration of the cathedral, which had been suppressed in 1547. In January, 1559, the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Essex, held a Parliament for the introduction of the reformed religion, when Leverous and Walsh, Bishops of Kildare and of Meath, alone of all the Prelates, refused to sanction the innovation, and were deprived of their sees. Leverous was also deprived of the Deanery for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. He afterwards kept a school at Adare, near Limerick, and, about 1577, died in the eightieth year of his age at Naas, and was buried there in the parish church of St. David. He was a native of the county of Kildare.

In 1553, Cardinal Pole was appointed to the Arch-

* Shirley's Original Letters relative to the Irish Church, p. 61.

bishopric of Canterbury, and died in 1558, at the age of fifty-eight.

In the beginning of 1554, Gerald served with distinction against the insurgents under Sir Thomas Wyatt. On the 23rd April a commission was directed to him and others to inquire concerning all murders and other offences committed within the counties of Kildare and Carlow.

On the 1st May, he received from Queen Mary a grant of all such honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, advowsons, and other hereditaments whatsoever, within the realm of Ireland, as came into possession of Henry VIII. by the attainder of his father; and on the 13th of May he was restored to the titles of Earl of Kildare and Baron of Offaly by letters patent, dated at the manor of St. James, with a creation fee of £20, to be received by him and his heirs male out of the customs of the port of Dublin. The attainder, however, was not reversed until 1569.

In November the Earl returned to Ireland, where he was received with great congratulations and rejoicings of the people.

The Four Masters, in their Annals, in the year 1553, relate: "The daughter of O'Connor Faly, Margaret, went to England, relying on the number of her friends and relatives there, and on her knowledge of the English language, to request Queen Mary to restore her father to her; and, on appealing to her mercy, she obtained her father, and brought him home to Ireland. . . . The sons of the Earl of Kildare, Garrett Oge and Edward, came to Ireland, after having been in exile for a period of sixteen years in Rome, Italy, and France, and obtained

from the Queen the restoration of their patrimonial inheritance and the earldom. The son of the Earl of Ossory, James, son of Pierce Butler, also returned, and succeeded as Earl in place of his father. The heir of M'Gillapatrik, Brian Oge,* the son of Brian, came along with the sons of the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Ossory. There was great rejoicing throughout the greater part of Leath-Mhogha because of their arrival ; for it was thought that not one of the descendants of the Earls of Kildare, or of the O'Connors Faly, would ever come to Ireland.

Soon after his arrival the Earl was engaged in an expedition, thus described in the Annals of the Four Masters :—"A great hosting was made by the Earl of Kildare and the Baron of Delvin, and a great number of the Irish, into Ulster, against Felim Roe O'Neill,† son of Hugh O'Neill, at the instance of Shane Doughaileach, the son of O'Neill.‡ They committed great depredation, and lost more than fifty of their people on that expedition."

On the 31st May, 1555, and again on the 3rd July, the Earl was nominated, with others, on a Commission for carrying on the Government during the absence of the Lord Deputy.

In 1556, the Four Masters relate :—"Donough, the son of O'Conor Faly (Brien) was taken prisoner by the Lord Justice at Druin-damhaighe (Drumcaw, in the King's County,) while he was under the safe-protection

* Son of the Baron of Upper Ossory, and bosom friend of Edward VI.

† Of Clandeboye.

‡ Conn Bacagh, who had been created Earl of Tyrone in 1542.

and guarantee of the Earl of Kildare. The Lord Justice and the Earl each sent a messenger to the Queen to learn what should be done with those hostages ; for the Lord Justice had O'Connor and Donough, as well as other hostages, in his custody. O'More and Donough O'Connor were afterwards set at liberty, on account of their guarantees, namely, the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Ormonde. This had not been expected."

In 1557, in the Act for converting the territories of Offaly and Leix into the King's and Queen's Counties, it was provided that nothing therein should prejudice the rights of the Earl.

On the 10th August, 1557, the Earl accompanied the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, when he marched his forces into Ulster against M'Conell, the Scot. The Scots, having been deprived of their booty, declined battle, and hid themselves in the woods ; and their chief soon afterwards surrendered himself and was made a knight. This expedition lasted six weeks.*

On the 28th October, 1558 (4 & 5 Phil. & Mary), a patent was passed, granting to the Earl and his Countess Mabel, and their heirs male, the demesnes of the late Priory of Inch, the Monastery of Down, the Priory of St. John, that of St. John and St. Thomas of Down, and the Monastery of Saul, all in the County of Down. The rectories and tithes belonging to them were assigned to Cardinal Pole. The lands reverted to the Crown on the death of the Countess in 1610.†

On the 13th February, 1559, the lands which formerly

* Ware's Annals. † Patent Rolls of James I., vol. i. pp. 22-61.

belonged to the College of Maynooth were granted to the Earl by Queen Elizabeth.

In 1560, in consequence of a meeting in Limerick between the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, the Government became alarmed, and orders were sent in May to summon the Earl of Kildare to England ; or, in case of his refusal to go, to place him under arrest. It appears that some writings or books, condemnatory of the Government, had been circulated in Ireland, of which the Earl was suspected of being the author. He went to England, where he soon after cleared himself from the charges against him.* In September articles were agreed on and delivered to the Earl, who was to repair to Ireland to receive the oath of allegiance of Shane O'Neill.† He was, however, detained until the following year.

In October, 1561, he returned to Ireland to assist the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex, in carrying on the war in the north. Sussex was also accompanied in this expedition by the Earls of Ormonde, Desmond, Thomond, and Clanricarde. Having marched through Tyrone, as far as Lough Foyle, without opposition, the Earl of Kildare, relying on his relationship with O'Neill,‡ offered to become the bearer of an invitation to him from Queen Elizabeth, to repair to her Court in England. O'Neill, flattered by this mark of conciliation, was induced by the persuasions of his cousin to make his submission, and agreed to articles of peace, which were signed

* Moore, vol. iv. p. 26.

† State Papers.

‡ He was first cousin, once removed, to the Earl.

by him and the Earl in the presence of Viscount Baltinglass and Lord Slane. The Lord Lieutenant then marched into Tyrconnell, and, having restored Calvagh O'Donnell to the chieftaincy, returned to Dublin.

In January, 1562, the Earl accompanied O'Neill to England, where they were received by Cecil and some of the principal members of the Privy Council. The Irish chieftain appeared in London, attended everywhere by a guard of galloglasses, armed with axes, bareheaded, their hair falling in curls, yellow shirts, dyed with saffron, long sleeves, short coats, and hairy mantles. He marched in this order to the Palace, and was presented to the Queen, when he threw himself on his face before her, confessing his rebellion "with howling." The courtiers, amused by his haughtiness to them, and his professed friendship for the Queen, called him "O'Neill the Great, cousin to St. Patrick, friend to Queen Elizabeth, and enemy to all the world besides."* The Queen granted him full pardon, and advanced him a loan of £300 for the expenses of his return. He arrived in Ireland on the 26th May.

On the 13th April, 1563, the Earl was joined in a commission with Lord Baltinglass and others for the government of Kildare; and on the 17th April he and the Archbishop of Dublin were appointed Commissioners in the Counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, and King and Queen's Counties, during the absence of the

* Camden, Hist. of Elizabeth.

Lord Lieutenant in the north, on another expedition against O'Neill ; and "in case a necessity for raising the subjects for the defence of the country, the Earl was appointed Captain-General, to array and conduct the people so assembled in army."* On the 6th October he was appointed a "Commissioner for causes ecclesiastical."† In that year the Earls of Kildare and Sussex addressed a joint letter to O'Neill, urging him to meet them at Dundalk, and to conclude a truce with the chiefs, with whom he was at war. He, however, refused. But Kildare having sent Melchior Hussey to advise him to submit, he consented, and again went under the Earl's protection to England.‡

On the 20th March, 1564, the Earl, with the Earl of Ormonde and Sir Henry Radcliffe, were appointed Commissioners to parley with the O'Mores.

On the 26th July, he and the Earl of Ormonde received instructions to confer with O'Neill. Accordingly, a parley was held between them on the 30th July, but it had no result, in consequence of the extravagant demands of the chief.

On the 4th August, the Earl was ordered to levy his power against the O'Connors and O'Mores.

On the 6th October, he was appointed on a commission, with others, to inquire into all offences against Acts of Parliament.

In the "Earl of Kildare's Rental" is the following entry :—"Granted the last of Novembre, anno 1564, Cormoke O'Malon, of Clonneknosky, and Edward Malon of the same, hathe promest Gerald, Erle of Kildare, yerly

* Lodge. † MS. Book of C. Prayer, Ir., p. xvii. ‡ Ware.

for ther defens a Gosshawke or Tarsell, whether of them shall best chawnce to groo in the Erre ; and the yere that the Hawke chawnce not they to pay. . . . XL.ſ̄.”

Campion says, that at this time, “when Sir Nicholas Arnold was Lord Justice, he, for the better success in government, linked himself entirely with Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who likewise endeavoured to support the same with diligence, being authorized to straine the rebels at his discretion ; whereupon hee disposed himselfe to serve, and presented the Government many times with a number of principall outlawes heades.”

On the 22nd June, 1565, he received the Queen's thanks for his services against the O'Connors and O'Mores. In December, however, articles against him were forwarded by Oliver Sutton to the Government, and the Deputy was ordered to examine them ; but with what result does not appear.

In March, 1566, the Deputy wrote that the Earl had taken a notable rebel, Captain Tyrrel, and recommended that he might be “encouraged by comfortable letters.”

O'Neill having seized the strong Castle of Dundrum, in the County of Down, belonging to the Earl, and declaring that he would keep it,* the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, thought it necessary to make a demonstration against him. Accordingly, in September, accompanied by the Earl and other Lords of the Council, he marched from Drogheda, through Tyrone and Tyrconnell, into Connaught, and reached Athlone in October, when the army was dissolved. During this

* Hooker.

expedition, which occupied six weeks, O'Neill never seriously opposed the Deputy, to whom most of the castles on his route were surrendered without resistance, and who restored Con O'Donnell to the chieftaincy of Tyrconnell. O'Neill was murdered in the next year, 1567.

At that time was finally abolished the old Irish exaction of coyne and livery, which had been introduced by the Earls of Kildare, Ormonde, and Desmond, about the year 1320.

On the 23rd February, 1569, an Act (11 Eliz. sess. 4, c. 20) was passed to repeal the Statute of Attainder of the Earl of Kildare, &c. (28 Henry VIII. c. 1) (Appendix V).

In 1573, the Earl appears to have repaired the Castle of Kilkea, and to have placed in the dining-hall a chimney-piece, of which a portion remains, bearing his crest, the monkey, with the inscription :—

SI DIV PLET
CROMABO
1573,

and also an eagle, the crest of the Countess' father, Sir A. Brown.

In June, 1574, the Earl of Desmond,* alarmed by the preparations made against him by the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, solicited an interview with the Earl of Essex, the Governor of Ulster ; offering to go to him if he had authority to do so. In July, Essex wrote the following letter to the Privy Council in England :—

* Gerald, 16th Earl.

“ May it please your Lordships,

“ Since the writing of my last letters, I have been at Waterford, and, according to a commission granted to me by the Lord Deputy and Council, have dealt with the Earl of Desmond as followeth. I was accompanied with my Lord of Kildare and setting forward from hence, the 28th day of June, we came to Waterford the last of that month. The same night a messenger came unto us from the Earl, declaring that he was at Kilmacthomas, twelve miles from the city, and was desirous to understand what I would have him to do. We returned answer, that, because the place was far off, we required that he would draw near unto us, to a bridge three miles from Waterford. Upon the receipt of our letter, he marched immediately thither, and desired to know when he should repair unto me. Whereupon I required my Lord of Kildare to repair unto him, and to carry him unto me to a heath not far from the city ; which he did without any stay, accompanied with the Lord Fitz-Morrice and others, to the number of 60 horse. At his coming, he said that he was fearful of the Lord Deputy's friendship, which made him doubtful to receive protection, saving that he trusted upon the honour of my word, and the Earl of Kildare's, that he should be in safety. I did then, before his company, assure him that he did the Lord Deputy wrong, and that he meant well towards him, so far as he should show himself a good subject ; and after a few words, I demanded of him whether he would go with me to Dublin to answer to such things as should be objected unto him by the Council ; he said he would willingly, if his country and followers

might be protected in his absence. I did hereupon deliver unto him the protection granted here under the seal, containing safety for himself and them for twenty days, and he delivered the same to one of his men, and rode presently with me to Waterford. Within two hours after, the Countess, his wife, who was in the camp, came to the town, and seemed in words to me very desirous of his obedience and conformity ; and, finding her so well inclined, I called the Earl of Desmond unto me, into my chamber, avoiding all save the Countess and the Earl of Kildare, and there I told him of his misdemeanours, and required him to be plain with me, and to declare what course he meant to take ; whether he would conform himself to all things that was meet for a subject to do to his sovereign ; otherwise, as he had performed well his promise in coming unto me, so I would never trouble him in going farther ; but while his strength was at hand, I would deliver him again in safety to his people. His answer was, that he would do anything that could be required of any nobleman of England or Ireland. With this answer I was satisfied, and so within three days we came to Dublin, the Earl having in his company but only four of his household and John Fitz*Edmonds.

At my return hither, the Council did assemble, and a time was appointed for the Earl to come before them ; at which time the Earl, upon his knees, made his submission, the copy whereof I send unto your Lordships, together with such articles as the Lord Deputy and Council did the next day following deliver unto him, and his answers unto the same.

I am bound with the Earl of Kildare, by our words and honours, to safe conduct Desmond to the confines of Munster, and to deliver him to his country in safety, which journey I begin this afternoon.
Also, that your Lordships will take in good part the travail of my Lord of Kildare with Desmond, who hath dealt honourably and plainly with the said Earl.* . . ."

In 1577, the Lord Deputy proposed the imposition of a permanent tax, instead of the subsidy levied for the maintenance of the royal garrisons and of the household of the Deputy. The tax was sanctioned by the Council, but was resisted by the principal lords and their dependents. On this affair being referred to the Council in England, four Irish peers, who happened to be in London, the Earls of Kildare and Ormonde, and Lords Gormanston and Dunsany, were summoned to attend, and to give their opinions upon the question. They allowed that the assessment had been customary, but humbly pleaded the grievances of the impost. The Queen listened with apparent interest, but would not give up the tax, until, alarmed at the danger of alienating her best subjects in Ireland, she consented to allow the Deputy and Council to arrange a composition for seven years, with the consent of the lords and gentlemen of the Pale.

The Earl returned to Ireland at Christmas, 1578.†

In 1579, he and the Lords Mountgarret, Upper Ossory, and Dunboyne, with a reinforcement of 200 horse,

* Lives of the Earls of Essex, vol. i., p. 70.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

besides kerns, or foot soldiers, attended the Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, on an expedition into Munster against James Fitz Maurice, who had landed at Smerwick harbour in Kerry, with a small force of Spaniards. They encamped near Kilmallock, where the Earl of Desmond met them, and assured them that he had taken no part in the invasion.* The death of Sir W. Drury, on the 30th September, put a stop to the expedition ; and the Earl returned to Dublin. In October, Sir William Pelham, Sir William's successor, committed the custody of the Northern portion of the Pale to him, with an allowance of 100 horsemen in pay, and the command of 500 more raised in the Pale. He accompanied the Deputy as far as Adare, which had been occupied by the enemy, and having placed garrisons there and in other castles, they returned to Dublin.

On the 25th August, 1580, the Lord Deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton, at the head of a large force, and accompanied by the Earl, entered the defiles of Wicklow, which were occupied by the rebels, under the command of Viscount Baltinglass, the Chief of the O'Byrens and Captain FitzGerald, a kinsman of the Earl. The latter had joined the rebels with a body of troops, which had been placed under his command by the Earl for the defence of the Pale. The Deputy and the Earl remained with one division of the army on the wooded hill at the entrance of Glenmalure, the other divisions entered the glen, when a heavy fire from the insurgents, who were concealed among the trees and underwood on the sides of the mountains, compelled them to retreat. Many of

* Annals of the Four Masters.

the officers were slain, and the rest of the army retired to Dublin.

The Lord Deputy soon after marched against the Spanish invaders and defeated them. On his return to Dublin he was informed of a conspiracy to seize his person and obtain possession of Dublin Castle. At the same time Robert Dillon, of Tara, Richard Gerrott, and Allen of St. Wolstans, charged the Earl, and his son-in-law, Lord Delvin, with plotting against the Crown. The details of this conspiracy are wrapped in great mystery, but the Earl and the Baron were placed under arrest, and committed to the custody of James Wingfield, the Master of the Ordnance. The Earl's son, Henry, Lord Offaly, then eighteen years of age, alarmed by the imprisonment of his father, and persuaded by his Irish foster-father, O'Connor, and other followers of his family, fled into Offaly, where he was concealed and protected by the O'Connors, who were ready to rise in arms in his favour. The Deputy directed the Earl to send for his son, but the messenger returned with the answer, "that the young Lord was willing to come, but could not be permitted, unless good assurance was given for his safe return." The Deputy then sent the Earl of Ormonde, Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, and divers captains and gentry, to treat for his release, but ineffectually. After some time, however, the O'Connors, fearing lest his detention might be prejudicial to his father, sent him to the Earl of Ormonde, who delivered him to the Deputy in Dublin. He was then confined in the Castle with his father, his younger brother, and Lord Delvin. They were soon after sent to England, when

the Earl and Lord Delvin were committed to the Tower of London, and Lord Offaly to the custody of the Earl of Bedford. After a careful examination before the Queen and Council into the charges against them, they were acquitted, and the Earl's lands and goods, which had been seized on his apprehension, were restored to him.

Some of the Earl's enemies having said that he was able but not willing to benefit his country, the following distich was at that time composed:—

“ Quid possim, jactant ; quid velim, scire recusant ;
Utraque Reginæ sint, rogo, nota meæ.”*

In July, 1581, the Earl went with 200 horse and 700 foot to parley with Viscount Baltinglass, who was in arms against the Government, but without result. He was in that year appointed, with the Chancellor, governor of the Pale, during the absence of the Deputy.

In 1583, the insurrection called “the Great Geraldine Rebellion,” terminated on the death of the 16th Earl of Desmond, who was slain on the 11th November.

On the 26th April, 1585, the Earl of Kildare was present in the Parliament held by Sir John Perrot.

He died in London on the 16th November of that year (1585), and his body was brought to Ireland, and interred at Kildare on the 13th February, 1586.

He was of low stature and slender figure, and was reputed to have been the best horseman of his day. “With many good qualities, honourable, courteous, valiant, affable, and having all the qualifications belonging to a gentleman, he was passionate and

* Holinshed.

covetous." He conformed to the Protestant religion in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

A few days before his death the Earl made the following will:—"In the name of God, amen. The sixte daye of November, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1585, &c., I, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, being sycke in bodie, and (thankes be to God) well and perfecte of memorie, doe make and ordayne this my laste will and testament. Firste, I bequethe my sowle to Almighty God, my bowels to be buried heere in Englande, and my bodie to be conveyde into Ireland and there buried in St. Bryde's Church in Kildare in such due ordere as appertayneth to one of my vocation, where I wyll and bequethe £100 sterling to be bestowed for the making of a monument in the said church over my grave. Item, I will that there be £100 bestowed upon some jewel or token to be given to her Majestie from me as a token of my humble and dutiful loyaltie to her Highnesse. Item, I wyll and bequethe to my wyffe, as a token of good will and remembrance, a jewel called an aggat, which I boughte latelie and a pece of black tufte taffatye containing thirteen yards. Item, I wyll and bequethe unto my brother Edward Fitz Gerald, my beste neste of gilte and graven bolles with a cover. Item, I wyll and bequethe unto my sonne and heire, Lord Henry Fitz Gerald, all my golde buttons, hatt, and capp bands of golde, silvere, and pearle, with all my foot cloths and horse furniture, and alsoe my gilt rapiers and daggers, with their girdells and hangers, and all my shirte-bodies. Item, I wyll and bequethe unto my said sonne and heire all such shirtes of maile, armours, and artillerie and other

warlike weapons, together with three of the best suyts of hanging of tapestrie or cloth of arras that I have in Englande or in Irelande, the same suyts to remayne in my house. Item, I wyll and bequethe unto my sonne and heire all my stooedes, savinge and exceptinge such as I bequethe by legacie unto my seconde sonne, William Fitz Gerald, and my servante Gerald Delahide. Item, I wyll and bequethe unto my daughter, the Ladie of Delvin, the fourthe beste suyt of hangings of tapestrie or arras nexte to those I left to my saide sonne and heire. Item, I wyll and bequethe unto my seconde daughter, the Ladie Elizabeth, over and above the £1,000 which I ensured unto her upon my landes, the summe of £500 for her portion of goodes and prefermente to marriage. Item, I wyll and bequethe unto my second sonne, William Fitz Gerald, the number of three score stoodmares for his portion of goodes. Item, I wyll and bequethe that my deceased sonne, the Lord Garrat's daughter, named Latice Fitz Gerald, shall have as helpe towards her marriage, when she is married, £300 sterling ; and more I would have left her, were it not that my sonne and heire is overcharged by meanes of my debts and other legacies." He then bequeaths legacies to his natural children, consisting of four sons and three daughters, and wills that his Countess should take care of all his old servants, for some of whom he made liberal provision, and constitutes his son Henry and his son-in law, Lord Delvin, his executors.

The Earl had, in 1566, settled upon the Countess the manors of Maynooth and Graney ; and upon each of his younger children £1,000. He had also entailed his estates upon his sons and their heirs male, with remainder

to his brother and to his cousins, Thomas and Gerald, sons of his uncle Oliver, Sir Maurice, son of Thomas, and William, son of Sir James Fitz Gerald, and their heirs male.

By inquisition taken after the Earl's death in the several counties where his estates lay, it appears that he possessed the manors and advowsons of the rectories and vicarages of "Maynooth, Kildare, Rathangan, Athy, Woodstock, Kilkea, Castledermot, and Graney, in the Co. Kildare; Portlester, Ballyboggan, Newtown de Moyagher, Moylagh, and Kildalkie, in Meath; Geashill, in King's County; Ardglass and Strangford, in Down; Crom and Adare, in Limerick; and many other lands."

The Earl married in 1552, Mabel, second daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to Edward VI., by Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage, K.G., and sister to Viscount Montacute. She was "a lady of great worth and virtue." After the Earl's death she had the manors of Maynooth and Graney as her dower, and resided "in the faire house of Maynooth." In 1606, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, who had married the Countess's grand-daughter, Lady Bridget Fitz Gerald, concerted their plans for a general insurrection, in Maynooth Castle, unknown to the Countess; and in the castle garden proposed to Richard Lord Delvin, grandson to the Countess, to take a part in their designs. She, in a letter to Lord Salisbury, some time after, expressed her sorrow "that the late treasons should have been plotted at Maynooth," and strongly asserted her own innocence.* She died on the 25th

* Moore's Ir., vol. iv. p. 154.

August, 1610, and was buried beside the Earl at Kildare.

The Earl and Countess had three sons and two daughters :—

Gerald, Lord Offaly.

Henry, twelfth Earl.

William, thirteenth Earl.

Lady Mary, born the 13th September, 1556, and married, in 1584, to Christopher Nugent, ninth Baron of Delvin. She died on the 1st of October, 1610.

Lady Elizabeth, second wife of Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond.

GERALD, LORD OFFALY.

Gerald, Lord Offaly, was born at Maynooth, the 28th December, 1559. The following verses were addressed to him :—

“Te pulchrum natura fecit, fortuna potentem,
Te faciat Christi norma, Giralde, bonum.”*

He died before his father in England, and was buried on the 30th June, 1580, in the Abbey of St. Alban's in Hertfordshire. He married Catherine, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G., Treasurer of the Household to Queen Elizabeth, and sister of the Earl of Banbury. She married, secondly, Sir Philip Butler of Walton-Woodhall, in Herefordshire. The Earl of Kildare, her father-in-law, settled £200 upon her, and she held the manors of Portlester in Meath, and of Athy and Woodstock in Kildare, as her dower. She died in December, 1632.

* Holinshed.

Lord Offaly had an only child, Lettice, who married Sir Robert Digby, of Coles Hill, in Warwickshire, who, in 1596, was knighted in Dublin by the Earl of Essex, and in 1613 was returned to Parliament as Member for Athy. He died in 1618. Lady Digby laid claim to the Barony of Offaly, and the estates of her grandfather, the eleventh Earl, as heir-general, but the cause was decided against her, and in order to settle the differences, James I. created her Baroness of Offaly, for life, and awarded to her, and her heirs, under the Great Seal of England, on the 11th July, 1619, the manor of Geashill, and the lands of the monastery of Killeigh, comprising the whole barony of Geashill, in the King's County. In 1641, on the breaking out of the insurrection, she was residing in her castle of Geashill, and was besieged in it by the forces of the Catholics, in April, 1642. The castle was very difficult of access, being surrounded by bogs and woods. Before making an assault, Henry Dempsie, brother of Lord Clanmalier, and other leaders, sent to her the following summons :—

“ Honourable,

“ We, His Majesty's loyal subjects, at the present employed in his Highness' service, for the sacking of this your castle, you are, therefore, to deliver unto us the free possession of your said castle, promising faithfully, that your ladyship, together with the rest within your said castle, ‘resiant,’ shall have a reasonable composition; otherwise, upon the non-yielding of the castle, we do assure you that we will burn the whole town, kill all the Protestants, and spare neither man, woman, nor

child, upon the taking of the castle by compulsion. Consider, madam, of this our offer, and impute not the blame of your own folly unto us. Think not that we brag. Your Ladyship, upon submission, shall have a safe convoy to secure you from the hands of your enemies, and to lead you whither you please. A speedy reply is desired, with all expedition, and thus we surcease.

"HENRY DEMPSIE,	CHARLES DEMPSIE,
"ANDREW FITZPATRICK,	CONN DEMPSIE,
"PHELM DEMPSIE,	JAMES M'DONNELL,
"JOHN VICARS,	

*"To the Honourable and thrice virtuous Lady,
the Lady Digby, these give."*

To this summons Lady Offaly returned the following answer :—

"I received your letter, wherein you threaten to sack this my castle, by his Majesty's authority. I have ever been a loyal subject and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety ; and therefore my resolution is, that, being free from offending his Majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently, and will do the best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God. And though I have been and still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet, being provoked, your threats shall no wit dismay me.

"LETTICE OFFALY.

"To my cousin, Henry Dempsie, and the rest."

Not being able to take the Castle by assault they retired. They then collected, it is said, 140 pots and pans, which an Irishman from Athboy made into a cannon, having cast it three times before he succeeded in bringing it to perfection. After two months Lord Clanmalier brought this great gun to Geashill, and then sent the following summons to Lady Offaly :—

“ Noble Madam,

“ It was never my intention to offer you any injury before you were pleased to begin with me, for it is well-known, if I were so disposed, you had not been by this time at Geashill ; so as I find you are not sensible of the courtesies I always expressed unto you, since the beginning of this commotion. However, I did not thirst after revenge, but out of my loving and wonted respect still towards you, I am pleased and desirous to give you fair quarter, if you please to accept thereof, both for yourself, children, and grand-children, and likewise for your goods. And I will undertake to send a safe convoy with you and them, either to Dublin, or to any other of the next adjoining garrisons, either of which to be at your own election. And if you be not pleased to accept of this offer, I hope you will not impute the blame unto me, if you be not fairly dealt withal, for I expect to have the command of your house, before I stir from hence. And if you please to send any of your gentlemen of your house to me, I am desirous to confer thereof at large. And so expecting your speedy answer, I rest your loving cousin,

“ LEWIS GLANMALEROE.

“ P.S.—Madam,—There are other gentlemen now in

this town whose names are hereunto subscribed, who do join and unite themselves in this mine offer unto you.

“LEWIS GLANMALEROE, ART O MOLLOY, HENRY DEMPSIE, EDWARD CONNOR, CHARLES CONNOR, DANIEL DOYNE, JOHN M‘WILLIAM.”

To this letter she sent the following answer :—

“My Lord,

“I little expected such a salute from a kinsman, whom I have ever respected, you being not ignorant of the great damages I have received from your followers of Glanmaleroe, so as you can’t but know in your own conscience, that I am innocent of doing you any injury, unless you count it an injury for my people to bring back a small quantity of my own goods, when they found them, and with them some others of such men, as have done me all the injury they can devise, as may appear by their own letter. I was offered a convoy by those that formerly besieged me, and I hope you have more honour than to follow their example, by seeking her ruin, who never wronged you. However, I am still of the same mind, and can think no place safer than my own house, wherein if I perish by your means, the guilt will light on you, and I doubt not, but I shall receive a crown of martyrdom, dying innocently. God, I trust, will take a poor widow into his protection from all those which, without cause, are risen up against me.

“Your poor kinswoman,

“LETTICE OFFALY.

“P.S.—If the conference you desire do but concern the contents of this letter, I think this answer will

give you full satisfaction, and I hope you will withdraw your hand, and show your power in more noble actions."

On receiving this answer, Lord Clanmalier discharged the cannon against the castle, but at the first shot it burst. His men, however, continued the attack with their muskets until evening. As the Baroness was looking out of a window, a shot happening to strike the wall beside her, she immediately, with her handkerchief, wiped the spot, showing how little she cared for the attempts of the assailants. As soon as it was dark the besiegers retreated, carrying off their burst gun. Before his departure Lord Clanmalier wrote the following letter :—

"Madam,

"I received your letter, and am still tender of your good and welfare, though you give no credit thereunto. And whereas you do understand by relation, that my piece of ordnance did not prosper ; I believe you will be sensible of the loss and hazard you are like to sustain thereby, unless you will be better advised to accept the kind offer, which I mentioned in my last letter, unto you in the morning ; if not expect no further favour at my hands, and so I rest your Ladyship's loving cousin,

"LEWIS GLANMALEROE.

*"To my noble cousin, the Lady Lettice,
Baroness of Offaly."*

To this letter she returned answer by one of her men, who was kept as a prisoner by the enemy :—

“ My Lord,

“ Your second summons I have received, and shall be glad to find you tender of my good. For the piece of ordnance I never disputed how it prospered, presuming you would rather make use of it for your own defence or against enemies, than to try your strength against a poor widow of your own blood. But since you have bent it against me, let the blood which shall be shed be required at their hands that seek it. For my part, my conscience tells me that I am innocent ; and wishing you so too, I rest your cousin,

“ LETTICE OFFALY.”*

At that time Philip Sydney Viscount Lisle, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in Ireland, and son of the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Leicester, landed in Ireland, and hearing that Lady Offaly was besieged, undertook to relieve her. He was accompanied by Sir Charles Coote, with 120 foot and 300 horse. He accomplished the relief without much difficulty, the enemy not daring to oppose their approach in force, and only skirmishing from the bogs as they advanced. The castle being supplied with provisions and ammunition, the lady chose to remain in it.† Being, however, further menaced by Charles Dempsie, she was relieved by Sir Richard Greenville, in October, 1642 ; after which she retired to Cole’s Hill, where she died on 1st December, 1658, and was buried in the church there. She left seven sons and three daughters. Her

* Borlace’s Hist. p. 102.

Warner’s Hist. of Ir. vol. ii., p. 203.

eldest son, Robert, was created Lord Digby of Geashill. He married Lady Sarah Boyle, daughter of the first Earl of Cork, and sister to Lady Joan, wife of the sixteenth Earl of Kildare.

HENRY, TWELFTH EARL.

Henry, twelfth Earl of Kildare, was born in 1562. He was called by the Irish "Henri na Tuagh," or Henry of the Battleaxes.*

In 1580, being eighteen years of age, his father having been accused of treason and imprisoned, he took refuge with his foster-father, O'Connor Faly, and remained there for some time, until, fearing that his absence might be prejudicial to his father, he surrendered himself to the Lord Deputy, and was confined in Dublin Castle. Being sent soon after to England, he was committed to the custody of the Earl of Bedford, while his father and his brother-in-law, Lord Delvin, were sent to the Tower.

He was twenty-three years of age at the time of his father's death, in 1585.

On the 24th September, 1593, the Earl brought eight horsemen to the hoisting appointed to meet on the Hill of Tara.

Early in 1597 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, having captured the fort of Blackwater, between the Counties Armagh and Tyrone, wrote to the Earl to induce him to renounce his allegiance to the crown of England, but he

* O'Clery.

refused, and accompanied the Lord Deputy, Lord Borough, on the 1st July, at the head of a troop of horse, into Tyrone. Having retaken the fort of Blackwater, the Deputy passed over the river on the 20th July, in order to erect a fort on the other bank. Tyrone who, with his forces, occupied the adjacent forest, endeavoured to interrupt the works, and in the skirmish that ensued the Deputy was mortally wounded, and having been carried to Newry, died there a few days after. The Earl, on whom the command of the army devolved, drove back the assailants, but was also wounded, and twice thrown from his horse ; and his two foster-brothers, sons of O'Connor Faly, were slain while assisting him to remount. He was so grieved by their death that he left the army broken-spirited, and as he was on his journey home, he was obliged to rest at Drogheda, where he died from grief and fever resulting from his wound on the 30th September, 1597.* His body was carried to Kildare, and buried in St. Bridget's Cathedral.

He married Lady Frances Howard, second daughter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham, and first cousin, once removed, to his brother Lord Offaly's wife. After the Earl's death she married Henry Broke, Lord Cobham, and died without issue by him in 1628. The Earl had three daughters :—

Lady Eleanor died young.

Lady Bridget.

Lady Lettice died unmarried.

* MacGeoghegan's Hist. of Ir., vol. iii. p. 231 ; and Annals of the Four Masters.

Lady Bridget married Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, who was implicated in a conspiracy, and obliged to take refuge abroad. He died at Rome in 1617. On the forfeiture of her husband's estates in 1616, a pension of £300 per annum was granted to her by the crown. She married 2ndly, Nicholas Viscount Kingsland, by whom she was mother of the second Viscount. By the Earl of Tyrconnell she had one son, Hugh Earl of Tyrconnell, and two daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Luke, first Earl of Fingal, and Mary, of whom there is the following account :—

“ When Tyrconnell was obliged to leave his country in 1612, the Countess was in a state of pregnancy. She wished to accompany her husband, but was arrested and sent under a guard to England, when she gave birth to a daughter, who was named Mary. The King took the child under his protection, and commanded that she should be called Mary Stuart, instead of Mary O'Donnell. Her father having died at Rome, her mother obtained permission to return to Ireland. When Mary was twelve years old, she was invited to England by her grandmother, the Countess of Kildare, who presented her to the King. The monarch gave her a large sum as a marriage portion, and the Countess of Kildare, who was very rich, made her heiress to her fortune. Among several suitors for her hand, one had applied to her grandmother, who gave her consent to the marriage ; but Mary had so great an objection to him, because he was of the Reformed Religion, that she determined to escape to Flanders, to her brother, the young Earl of Tyrconnell. She persuaded a young Catholic, who was

her attendant, to accompany her. Having dressed themselves as men, the two girls assumed the names of Rodolph Huntly and Robert Hues. Accompanied by a servant they rode to Bristol, whence they sailed, and after a long and dangerous voyage arrived at La Rochelle. They then rode through Paris to Brussels, where Mary found her brother. The report of her intrepidity having spread through Europe, the Pope sent her a letter dated the 13th February, 1627, and addressed, "Urban VIII. to our dear daughter in Christ, Mary Stuart, Countess of Tyrconnell, greeting, health and apostolical benediction." In it he highly commends her courage and fidelity.*

WILLIAM, THIRTEENTH EARL.

William, thirteenth Earl of Kildare, was, in 1580, imprisoned with his elder brother in Dublin Castle. He succeeded him as Earl in 1597.

In the spring of 1598 he went to England,† and in March, 1599, prepared to accompany the Earl of Essex, who was going to Ireland, to carry on the war against the Earl of Tyrone. The Earl and some gallant gentlemen embarked in April in a small barque built for speed, and followed Essex's ship; but the weather being very tempestuous, the barque foundered, and they were all lost. This disaster is thus related by the Four Masters, in their Annals:—"The Earl of Kildare, whom we have

* Mac Geoghegan, *Hist. of Ir.*, vol. iii., p. 361.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

spoken of in the last year as having gone to England, namely, William, son of Garret, son of Garret, prepared to return to Ireland in the spring of this year. He went into a ship with eighteen of the chiefs of Meath and Fingall, and after they had sailed till out of sight at sea, none of them was seen alive ever since ; and it was from other countries, in two months afterwards, that an account of the certainty of their deaths arrived in England and Ireland."

This Earl was the last male descendant of Gerald, the eleventh Earl.

EDWARD FITZGERALD.

Edward FitzGerald, second son of the ninth Earl and his Countess, Lady Elizabeth Grey, was born on the 17th January, 1528. At the time of his father's death in December, 1534, he was with his mother in England. In July, 1536, he appears to have been at Beaumanoir, in Leicestershire, when his mother came to reside there.* Fearing that he would be taken from her, she applied to Cromwell, the Secretary of State, for the King's permission to keep him with her, and to educate him. This was granted, and in December, 1537, he was said to be "cherished with his mother" by the King.†

As soon as he was of sufficient age, he was appointed by the King Lieutenant of the Gentlemen Pensioners.

In 1569 the act, attainting him, his brother, and sisters, was repealed.

He married Mabel, daughter and heiress of Sir John

* State Papers, vol. ii. p. 280.

† Ibid., p. 536.

Leigh, and widow of Sir John Paston, of Norfolk. She succeeded to her father's estates of Helston, Abbotsbury, Abbotstoke, Aller, and Ansty, in Dorsetshire, which were inherited by her son, the fourteenth Earl, and were afterwards sold.*

They had two sons and three daughters :—

Gerald, fourteenth Earl.

Thomas, father of George, sixteenth Earl.

Elizabeth, Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards married to Sir John Hill.

Lettice, married to Sir Ambrose Coppinger, and secondly to Sir John Pointz.

Douglas, married to Sir Francis Aungier, Master of the Rolls, and created Lord Aungier.

GERALD, FOURTEENTH EARL.

Gerald, the fourteenth Earl of Kildare, commanded a regiment of infantry in the war against the Earl of Tyrone.

He succeeded to the earldom on the death of his cousin in April, 1599.

In September of that year, when the Earl of Essex departed from Ireland, he was appointed to the command of the district about Naas, having a force of 50 horse and 150 foot.

In 1599, when Sir George Carew was appointed President of Munster, among the members of his Council were the Earls of Kildare, Ormonde, and Thomond.†

* Hutchings' Hist. of Dorset.

† Mac Geoghegan, vol. iii. p. 261.

In the beginning of 1600, the Earl's Castles of Crom and Adare were occupied by the Sagan Earl of Desmond, then in rebellion, but were recovered in May by the Lord President. Crom was again occupied by Hugh Roe O'Donnell, in October, but soon abandoned by him.*

In that year the Four Masters relate :—" The Earl of Ormonde, i.e. Thomas, son of Pierce, son of Pierce Butler ; the Earl of Kildare, i.e. Garret, the son of Edward, the son of Garret ; and the Baron of Delvin, i.e. Christopher, the son of Richard, son of Christopher, with all those who were in the service of, or in obedience to the Queen, from thence (Tipperary) to Dublin, threatened every night to attack and assault O'Neill ; but though they meditated doing so, they did not accomplish it."

On the 31st August, 1600, the Earl was appointed by the Queen, under letters patent, dated at Oatlands, Governor of Offaly, with the pay of a mark per diem.

On the 7th July, 1601, the Lord Deputy ordered that the forces of Kildare, which were under the Earl's command, should be quartered at Athy, or elsewhere, at his discretion, and that the Sheriff should be second in command.

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, 24th March, 1603, he was one of the Council who signed the letter notifying that event to Lord Eure, and the other Commissioners for negotiating the treaty of Breme, and the league with Scotland.

* *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 109, 123, and 377.

On the 1st September, 1604, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Civil Government of Connaught.*

The Earl, during the Queen's reign, received a pension of 10s. per diem. After the accession of James I., he presented to him a memorial, offering to surrender such stipends as he had from the crown, on receiving lands to the yearly value of £100. The King, accordingly, ordered the Lord Deputy Sir Arthur Chichester, by a letter, dated at Theobalds, the 26th July, 1606, to make grants to the Earl of lands in various counties to that amount.†

At that time Lady Digby had been prosecuting her claim to the Barony of Offaly, the estates of her grandfather, the eleventh Earl. In 1607, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Master of the Rolls, went to England with instructions to pray that the King would be pleased to decide the controversy between the Earl and Sir R. Digby.‡

On the death of Mabel, Countess of Kildare, in 1610, the Earl came into possession of Maynooth Castle, where he had one of the two deer parks then existing in Ireland; the other belonging to the Earl of Ormonde. Moryson says: "At the time of the war I did not see any venison served at table, but only at the houses of the said Earls and of the English commanders."§

The Earl died on the 11th February, 1612. His obsequies were solemnized at Maynooth. His body,

* Patent Rolls, James I., p. 156. † Ibid., p. 289.

‡ State Papers.

§ Moryson's Ir., vol. ii. p. 367.

however, was not taken to Kildare until the 15th November, when it was interred in the choir of the Cathedral.

He married, by dispensation of the Pope, Elizabeth Nugent, daughter of Christopher Lord Delvin and Lady Mary Fitz Gerald, daughter of his uncle, the eleventh Earl. The Countess, having no dower or jointure, petitioned the King on behalf of herself and her infant son, who was his ward. James I., in July, 1612, authorized the Deputy, Lord Chichester, to make a grant to her of all her late husband's lands, &c., until her son should come of age; a third of the revenues to be for her jointure, a third for the maintenance of her son and for the payment of the late Earl's debts, and the remaining third to be paid into the King's treasury. She was to act as guardian until the boy was five years old, and then the Earl of Thomond and Sir Francis Aungier were to have the care of his education. The young Earl's death, in 1621, having deprived his mother of her jointure, the King assigned to her, during the minority of the sixteenth Earl, the manors of Kilkea and Graney, and certain lands in Down, including Strangford and Ardglass, and in Westmeath; and also the manors of Woodstock and Athy, after the death of the Dowager Lady Offaly. On the 8th July, 1615, she was rated £50 to the subsidy granted to the king. In 1634, she demised Kilkea Castle to the Jesuits, who retained possession of it till 1646. She was concerned in the rebellion of 1641, and was, the year after, outlawed for high treason.

The Earl had an only son, Gerald, his successor.

GERALD, FIFTEENTH EARL.

Gerald, fifteenth Earl of Kildare, was born on the 26th December, 1611, and was only seven weeks old at the time of his father's death.

On the 21st October, 1618, he was, by the king's letter given in ward to Esme Stewart, Earl of March, afterwards Duke of Lennox, with an order from the King that he should be given in marriage to one of the daughters of Lord Aubigny, second son of the Earl of March.

The Earl, however, died at Maynooth on the 11th November, 1620, being only eight years and ten months old, and was buried at Kildare. He was succeeded in the earldom by his cousin, George Fitz Gerald.

THOMAS FITZ GERALD.

Thomas Fitz Gerald, son of Edward, the third son of the ninth Earl of Kildare, married Frances, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Randolph,* Master of Posts and Chamberlain of the Exchequer, under Queen Elizabeth, and of Ursula Coppinger.† She was born on the 19th November, 1576.

They were both buried in the church of Walton-upon-Thames, in which, on a blue marble slab, on the south side of the chancel, is the following inscription :—

“ Hic jacet Thomas vir, qui de stirpe Giraldi
Kildarie Comititis, nobilis ortus erat.

* He was four times Ambassador to Scotland. (Hist. Notes, 1. 458.)

† She was probably related to his brother-in-law, Sir Ambrose Coppinger.

Hic jacet et Francisca, uxor, Randolphea proles,
 Antiquo armigerum stemmate quæ orta fuit.
 Lætus uterque satis nulli lugendus amico ;
 Quem vere coluit, spectat uterque Deum."

And on a black marble monument, against the south wall, over the gravestone is engraved :—

" In farther memory of the same Thomas Fitz Gerald, Esq., and Frances, the eldest daughter of Thomas Randolph, Esq., Postmaster of England.

" Stay, gentle reader, stay and read in ill-formed lynes,
 The lyfe and death of two well-suited myndes ;
 To poore they gave, of rich they did not borrow ;
 To all they lent, where want expressed sorrow ;
 To foe a friend, to friend their faith approv'd ;
 Of foe, of friend, of both they were belov'd.
 Their earth was heaven, where blessed angels sing,
 Their Church was Christ, whose death sure life us brings.
 In fine, so liv'd, so lov'd, so dy'd, and rest
 As friends, as doves, as saints, and so are blest.
 Pass on this way, thus live, thus dye ; which done,
 Two lives thou gain'st, when others have but one.
 Though future times, you malice will not credit,
 Present truth subscribes to, such was their great merit.

1619."

They had three sons and four daughters :

Gerald, }
 John, } died young.

George, sixteenth Earl.

Anne, married — Gilbert, Esq.

Lettice, married John Morris, Esq., of Isleworth,
 County of Middlesex.

Aphora.

Elizabeth.

GEORGE, SIXTEENTH EARL.

George, sixteenth Earl of Kildare, was born in January, 1612, and was baptized on the 23rd of the same month. He was only eight years and nine months old when he succeeded to the title in 1620. Being an Earl, he was a ward of the Crown.

In the year 1620, the following letter, contained in a collection of letters to George, Earl of Kildare, concerning "the writings belonging to the Earle of Kildare," was sent to the Lords Justices of Ireland:—

"Charles R.

"Right trusty, &c., Whereas, wee are informed that all the evidences and writings belonging to our right trusty, &c., George, Earl of Kildare, now our ward, have for diverse years past been and yet are under the charge of Christopher FitzGerald (sometymes servant unto Garrett, late Earle of Kildare), who being growne very weake by reason of old age and other infirmities; it was, therefore, humbly desired, on the behalfe of our sayd ward, that the custody of the sayd evidences and writings, which very much import the preservation and safety of his estate, might be transferred to our right trusty and well-beloved Francis Lord Angier,* our Master of the Rolles, in the Kingdome of Ireland, and to our trusty and well-beloved, Sir William Talbott,† Baronet there, who are best acquainted with the state of the Erldome of Kildare. We are, therefore, graciously pleased and doe by these our letters require you, that, according to the sayd request, which we hold fittinge and agreeable to the

* Uncle by marriage to the Earl.

† Of Carton.

care belonginge to us of our sayd ward and his estate, yee give present order unto the sayd Lord Angier and Sir William Talbot to take accompt from the sayd Fitz Gerald of all those evidences and writings whatsoever, which were committed to his custody, and to cause the same to be layd up in some chest or other secure place in the Castle of Mainothe (beeing the cheife house of the sayd Earle) under three lockes, whereof, our will and pleasure is that the severall keyes should remayne in manner followinge, that is to say, one with our Committee of our sayd ward, an other with the sayd Lord Angier, and the third with the sayd Sir William Talbot, whom we alsoe require not to permitt any of the sayd evidences or writings to bee remooved thence, but uppon urgent occasions. And these, our letters, &c.”

On the 3rd August, 1622, the Earl of March, who, in 1624, succeeded his brother as Duke of Lennox, and who had held the wardship of the fifteenth Earl, became guardian to the young Earl, on paying a fine of 1,000 marks to the King. He educated him in the Protestant faith. On the Duke's death, in July, 1624, the Duchess succeeded as guardian, but appears to have been very willing to transfer her charge, which the Earl's aunt, the Dowager Countess of Kildare, wished to be assigned to the Earl of Antrim, as appears from the following letter :—

“ My Noble and Dear Nephew,

“ I have received your letter, sent by Mr. Hodges, but I have not seene the Gent. himselfe as yett, who shall find for your Lordship's sake, all the kind entertainment I canne afford him. I had beene unnaturall if I had not continued my dearest (and as it pleaseth

your Lordship justly to tearm it) motherlike affection unto you, hayinge never deserved the contrary at my hands, which naturall love and union I hope shall ever continue betweene us. I thought good to acquaint your Lordship that I wrought the Earle of Antrim to gett your wardshipp into his hands, assuringe myself that noe body will deale more nobly and liberally with you, or have a greater care of your estate and prosperity, having the power and affection to effect the same. Hee hath at this present 4 daughters unmarried, two maydens under the age of eleven yeares old, and two widdows, the one at the age of 21, the other at 18, of which four hee is pleased to give your Lordship your choyce. If it did please your Lordship to lett mee have a stroke in your choyce, I would commend the eldest to you, whose virtue, wisdom, spirit, and comelinesse farre surpasseth the rest. I say not this (believe me, deare nephew) because by her former marriage shee is my neece, being married to my nephew of Delvin, but in my love to you, assuringe myselfe that you will think yourselfe happy hereafter in making this choyce. Your difference in age is but two or three yeares, which is nothings, and noe question canne be made, but that shee will bee a good mother of children, as having one goodly boy, which is now Lord of Delvin, and my brother of Westmeath's heyre. Howsoever, I beseech God direct you for the best, as wisheth from her heart, that will never fayle to continue,

“Your Lordship's faythfull and affectionate Aunt,

“E. KILDARE.*

“*Kilkeae, the 1 of June, 1629.*”

* MS. Letters to George, Sixteenth Earl of Kildare.

The Duchess of Lennox, however, had already assigned her ward to Richard, first Earl of Cork, and this assignment was confirmed by the King's letter, dated at Westminster, the 10th May, 1629, on the payment by the Earl of the yearly sum of £47 16s. 6d.

In August of the same year, the following letter was written by Lord Aungier to the young Earl :—

“ My dear good Lord,

“ I am certaynely informed by a witness sent, that my Lord, the Earle of Corke, hath contracted with the Dutchesse of Lennox for your wardshipp with your consent. Since God hath ordayned it soe, I beseech him to give a blessing to it. I hope hee will use you nobly, and looke well to your estate, preserve and increase it, whereunto, God willing, I shall give my best helpe. It is most requisite you should bee very carefull of your evidences. They are now in the possession of the old steward, a faythfull servant of your howse; they are kept in the howse of Maynouth, in a place there called the Councell howse, strongly built of stone, a little remote from the howse, toward the garden; a place very fitt for their keepinge. If you please, I will cause them to bee kept there, under locke and key, untill they may be safely delivered to yourselfe, at your comminge into this kingdome; which I hope now will not bee longe. Soe I commend you, my Lord, to the gracious protection of the Almighty. “ Your very affectionate lovinge Uncle,

“ to doe you service,

“ FRANCIS ANGIER.*

“ *Dublyn, this last of August, 1629.*”

* MS. Letters.

The Earl of Cork soon after proposed to his ward, to give him his daughter, Lady Joan Boyle, in marriage, to which he assented. As the King's approval was necessary, it was given in a letter dated at Bagshot, the 15th August, 1629, and directed to the Lords Justices, the Earl of Cork, and the Lord Chancellor, Ely. In order that there might be no delay, this letter directed Richard Talbot, of Malahide, and other trustees, who might be seized of any manor, &c., belonging to the Earl of Kildare, to join with him in providing a jointure for Lady Joan.*

About that time Lord Aungier wrote to the Earl as follows :—

“ MY VERY NOBLE AND SWEET LORD,

“ I am very glad that you are fallen into soe good hands. Mr. Talbot hath, accordinge to your desire, perfected a conveyance for the joynture of the Lady Joane Boyle, to the good likinge of the Earle of Corke. God make this marriage happy to you. My advice is that you part fayre with the Dutchesse, and continue her your frend. Soe prayinge God dayly for your happines,

“ I rest,

“ Your Lordship's very affectionate

“ Uncle, to doe you service,

“ FRANC: ANGIER.

“ The conclusion of the articles between the Earl of Antrim and the Dutchesse was altogether without my privities.”†

In October, 1629, the Earl entered Christ Church

* Lodge.

† MS. Letters.

College at Oxford. While he was there, Lord Cork wrote to him, on the 25th March, 1630, as follows :—
 “As for your dwarfe, seeing his present maintenance comes out of your estate, I am very well pleased with your choyce of him to attend upon you and your tutor (Mr. Sibthorp), to be ever neere you, and hee to wayte upon you, as your page. I think it will be sufficient untill you come hither, for I doe not wish you to pester yourselfe with two many attendants.”*

On the Earl taking leave of the Duchess of Lennox in June, 1630, she gave him £20, which he immediately distributed among her servants.†

As he was to return to Ireland in July, Lord Cork procured a royal warrant for post horses, and a “barque to transport him to Ireland.” But “the seas beinge infested with pirates,” a king’s ship was sent to convey him over.‡

The Earl was married to Lady Joan Boyle on the 15th August, 1630, being then only eighteen years of age.

The Castle of Maynooth having fallen into a state of dilapidation after the death of the fourteenth Earl, in 1612, in consequence of the minority of his two successors, the Earl of Cork, soon after he became guardian of the young Earl, restored and improved it, and placed over the principal gate the following inscription :—

“This ancient mannor house of Maynooth, being totally ruined and ready to fall, was new built and enlarged by the Right Honorable Richard Boyle, Knight, Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghal, Viscount Dungarvan, Earl of Cork, the Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and

* MS. Letters.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

one of the two Lords Justices in the Government of the kingdom ; who, being guardian of the lands and body of the Right Honourable George, the fyfteenth Earl of Kildare, to whom, with Royal assent of the King's Majestie, he gave his fourth daughter, the Lady Joan Boyle, in marriage, built this house for him at his own charge, in Anno 1630."

In 1632, the picture of the Earl, which is now at Carton, was painted, and, in consequence of the diminutive size of the figure, the Earl is commonly called the "Fairy Earl."

In 1632 the Earl received the following letter from Gerald, Earl of Desmond, the last who bore that title. If the attainder had been reversed, he would have been the twentieth Earl. He had been created a Count by the King of Spain, and was then in the Imperial service. Hedied in Germany—defending a strong town, of which he had the command, and which he refused to surrender*—without issue, that year :—

"Right Noble and Most Noble Cosen,

"Neyther corporall distance, little acquaintance with your Lordship, neyther oure long peregrination from my native soyle, dothe anythinge diminish the naturall affection I beare your Lordship. I find myselfe now in Italy, spendinge my youth in followinge the warres, though haveinge but a troupe of souldiers ; howsoever I content myselfe with the fortune that his Omnipotency gives me, eyther poore or rich, potent or not. Whilst I live in this mortall body I am at your Lordship's service at all occurrences as becommeth, notwithstanding all

* O'Daly. Geraldines.

chaunces wee must not be oblivious of the true amity and love that was inviolably observed betweene our antenates and elders. I pray my rude English bee pardoned. Thus, with kissinge your noble hands, and wishinge your Lordship all prosperity, I end the 6th of August, 1632.

“Your Lordship’s most affectionate cosen
to command,

“DESMOND, *alias* GERROTT FITZ GERALD.*

“*At Millayne, the accustomed place of my residence.*”

In September, 1632, the following letter was addressed to the Earl :—

“Right Noble,

“I have sent you 2 brace of partridges, beeing the first fruits of my hawkes labour. I assure your Lordship, you have, though I bee noe ffaulkner, the best hawkeing in the kingdome, and if it please your honour and my very good Lady, to doe me the honour one week to come to us, both your honour and her Ladyship, by seeing the hawkes fly within the Iland of Allen, shall confirme, I hope, what I report of him to bee true. My Lord, lett me know by this bearer the time certayne, that I may provide some venison agaynst my Ladye’s comminge. I killed a brace of these partridges uppon my cosen William Fitz Gerald’s land of Castlerowes farm, where there is a good store of game. I shall, therefore, entreate your Lordship’s letter unto him, that noe ffaulkners shall hawke in that liberty, but such as

* MS. Letters.

your honour shall appoynt or licence. I hear of some neighbours towards the Lordship of Maynooth that destroyes the small store of partridges that ly that way. They ought to be preserved pretiously for your own use ; game therabouts being very scarce. I beseech your honour blame your servants, and lett them have special directions to bee more carefull. I could name the ffaulkners, but that they are my speciall friendes. So, my Lord, I humbly take leave, and will ever live and dy,

“ Your Lordship’s true servant,

“ MAURICE FITZGERALD.*

“ September the 25, 1632.”

The Earl came of age in January, 1633, and on the 20th February had a special livery of all his lands, on paying a fine of £300, Irish.

There appear to have soon arisen differences between the Earl and his father-in-law, for in April, 1633, the Lord Deputy, Viscount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, wrote as follows to the former :—

“ My very good Lord,

“ Your letter of the 20th of the last month bringes with it many testimonyes of your love and respects to mee, which I shall endeavour to deserve. In the meane tyme, it is somewhat strange to mee (considering your neare alliance with my Lord of Corke, in marryinge one of his daughters), to find that any just occasion of unkindnesse should arise betweene you. The best service that I canne doe your Lordship in that businesse,

* MS. Letters.

is to advise you, by a fayre carriadge towards him, to winne uppon his affections, which will make a better understanding betweene you both, and thus all your future differences bee by your moderation past over, and your Lordship much assisted in the mananginge of your fortune and repayringe your house, thorough his great wisdom and experience, best able and sure, forth of this desire of the good of his and your children, best affected to give you faythful advice in all thinges which may concerne you. I hope it will not bee longe ere I shall have the happinesse to see your Lordship in that kingdome, where I shall readily doe any good offices in a friendly and an even way, that your Lordship may perceave how much I am

“ Your Lordship’s

“ Very affectionate friend and servant,

“ WENTWORTH.*

“ *Westminster, this*

“ *5th of April, 1633.*”

In 1634 the Earl took his seat in the House of Lords on the opening of the Parliament summoned by Viscount Wentworth in Dublin Castle. The ceremony then observed is thus stated in the Lords’ Journals : On the 14th July, 1634, the Lord Deputy being seated in the chair of estate in the House of Lords, the Earl of Kildare bearing the cap of maintenance ; the Earl of Ormonde, the sword ; Lord Brabazon, Sir Robert Loftus, and Mr. Arthur Jones, the train ; the Lord Chancellor was then introduced. The Lord Deputy having with-

* MS. Letters.

drawn, the Earl of Cork, Lord Treasurer, delivered his writ to the Lord Chancellor, and was followed by the Earl of Kildare, who was brought in by a Gentleman Usher and Ulster King-at-arms, carrying his writ. He was followed by the Earls of Ormonde, Thomond, &c.

On the 31st July he was appointed one of the "Committee of Grievances," which was to report what Acts should be repealed.

On the 6th August he obtained a grant for a weekly market and two yearly fairs at Strangford and Ardglass.

On the 9th December, Lord Ranelagh moved in the House of Lords, that a protection granted by the Earl of Kildare to one Nicholas Barry, to be of force during the preceding session, should be declared void. The protection having been produced, was ordered to be read:—

"Whereas by the ancient priviledge, laws, and customs of this realm, heretofore used and approved, the lords spiritual and temporal, the knights burgesses of the Parliament, have always, and their servants and followers, been priviledged and freed from any molestation, trouble, arrest, or imprisonment, for some certain days, both before the beginning and after the ending of the same; and whereas, at this time, a Parliament is summoned, where I, George Earl of Kildare, one of the Peers of this kingdom, am to make my appearance, and to give my attendance. Now know that, notwithstanding you, or some of you, have in your hands some process, writ, or warrant to molest, arrest, or imprison Nicholas Barry, of the Annagh, in the county of Cork, Esq., my servant in ordinary, whose attendance I

have special cause to use and employ in matters which do much concern and import my affairs, and other occasions to be followed and sollicitated by him, during this session of Parliament. These are, therefore to charge and command you, and every of you, both to withdraw the same process, writt, or warrant (if any such be), as also, if thereby you, or any of you, have molested, arrested, or imprisoned him, the said Nicholas Barry, within the compass of the aforesaid days of priviledge, that then upon sight hereof you presently set him at liberty, as you, or any of you, will answer the contrary.

“GEO. KILDARE.

“*Given under my hand and
seal, the 1st day July,
A. D. 1634.*

“To all mayors, sheriffs, sergeants of mace, and all others his Majesty's officers and loving subjects whom it may concern.”

It was thereupon ordered by the House that the protection should be of no force.*

In that year the Earl, having been treated with neglect by the Lord Deputy, absented himself from Parliament; but having been commanded by the King to attend, he obeyed, opposing, however, the measures of the Government. Wentworth showed his resentment by his imperious treatment of the Earl, who, resolving to appeal to the King, sailed secretly to England without having obtained license of departure. He was, however, coldly received by Charles, who had been prepossessed

* Lords' Journals, vol. i., p. 44.

against him, and only regained the royal favour by promising submission to the Deputy.*

In 1638, the Lord Deputy determined to examine the title of every estate in Connaught, with the view of establishing a new plantation through the whole province. The Earl, however, refused to submit his property to the sentence of the Privy Council, and was, in consequence, committed to prison.†

On the 3rd of March, 1641, at a meeting of Roman Catholics, held in the Abbey of Multifarnham, among other resolutions the following was passed: "That only the ancient nobility of the kingdom shall stand, and, of them, such as shall refuse to conform to the Roman Catholic religion to be removed, and others put in their room. Howsoever, the present Earl of Kildare must be put out, and another put in his place."‡

On Sunday, the 22nd October, 1641, the Earl, with other Lords, repaired to Dublin Castle, and made a declaration before the Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace, that they knew nothing of the conspiracy, which had been first discovered two days before.

When the insurrection of 1641 broke out (in October), the Earl called a meeting of the gentry and commons of the county of Kildare at Naas, at which he was chosen Governor of the county. He then, with the approval of the Council, appointed three gentlemen as Captains for the suppression of disorders in the county.

* Leland's Ir., vol. ii., p. 19.

† Ibid., vol. iii., p. 35.

‡ Borlace's Ir. Rebellion, p. 40.

§ Warner's Ir., vol. ii., p. 61.

One of them, Piers Fitz Gerald, of Ballysonan, or Ballyshannon, who had served in Flanders in the regiment of Owen Roe O'Neill, was appointed to the command of Castledermot. He then procured a warrant from the Earl to the Rev. John Walsh, to deliver to him the castle there; but on the 7th December he joined the Catholic Confederation, and was first appointed Colonel of a regiment, and afterwards, by the General Assembly at Kilkenny, Sergeant-Major of the Leinster forces.

On the 7th January, 1642, a party of Catholics seized and pillaged Maynooth Castle, carrying off the furniture and the library,* which was of great value; all the stock, including thirty-nine English cows and oxen, thirty horses worth £270, household goods worth at least £200, and corn and hay worth £300; they also deprived him of rents amounting to £600 a year.† The castle was soon retaken, but in 1646 was occupied by a detachment sent for that purpose by the Catholic General, Preston, when he was advancing against Dublin, and on his retreat it was dismantled, and has never since been inhabited.

On the 17th November, 1642, the Earl was again selected as one of the Committee of Grievances by the House of Lords.

In 1643, the army in and about Dublin being in great want, owing to arrear of pay, the Earl, who commanded a regiment, and all the principal officers, sent to the Council a remonstrance, in which they

* The library at Maynooth had existed for more than a century, as the catalogue of the books, in 1526, is in the British Museum.—(Appendix VI.)

† Lodge.

stated that it had been agreed between the Parliament of England and the Lord Lieutenant that the arrears should be paid off, and that they were in great want. They also drew up a memorial to the King; but their envoy, Major Woodhouse, not being permitted to leave Ireland, the Earl and other officers obtained admittance to the Council, and demanded a pass for him, which was granted.*

On the 20th April, 1643, the House of Lords sent a message to the Commons, informing them that the Earl of Kildare had petitioned them against two Commoners, Sir George Wentworth and George Carr, Esq., for arrears of rent; that they could not proceed against them, on account of privilege, and desiring that the Earl might be left to the ordinary course of law. The answer of the Commons was extraordinary: "That they had entered into the merits of the cause, and found that the Earl's interest was but in trust."†

A deputation from the Catholics having been sent to the King at Oxford, in September, the Protestants in and about Dublin met on the 6th October, 1643, at the Earl of Kildare's house, and drew up a petition to the Lords Justices and Council, for licence for such as they should select to wait on the King on their behalf. The King's permission having been obtained, a deputation was appointed by both Houses of Parliament then sitting in Dublin, to present to the King a memorial stating their grievances, and praying that no treaty should be made with the Catholics to the prejudice of the

* Borlace.

† Lord Mountmorris' Hist. of Irish Parliament, vol. ii. p. 78.

Protestants. This memorial was signed by the Earl and many others.*

In 1645, the Earl of Glamorgan, having been committed to custody on an indictment of high treason for having surreptitiously obtained a commission to make peace with the Confederate Assembly of Kilkenny, was on the 21st January, 1646, liberated on his own recognizances and those of the Marquis of Clanricarde and the Earl of Kildare.†

In June 1647, the eleven old broken regiments then in and about Dublin were reduced to seven, and placed under the command of the Earl of Kildare, Lord Moore, and Colonels Tichburn, Borlace, Willoughby, Baly, and Flower; and Colonel Michael Jones was appointed Governor of Dublin.‡

In August, on the report that Owen Roe O'Neill, the Ulster General, was advancing towards Dublin, Colonel Jones committed the command of the city to the Earl, while he marched to meet the enemy. The Earl had under his command his own regiment, and those of Sir John Borlace, and Colonels Willoughby and Fenwick, the train bands, and five troops of horse.

In August, 1649, Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Lieutenant, soon after his arrival in Ireland, disbanded the Earl's regiment among others.§

The Castles of Athy, Kilkea, and Castledermot having been retaken from the Catholics under Lord Dillon, in 1650, by Colonel Hewson, the Earl resided at Kilkea, and in Dublin, until his death.

* Borlace, p. 184.

† Cox's Hist., vol. ii. p. 192.

‡ Plowden, vol. i. p. 153.

§ Ibid.

He died in the beginning of 1660, a short time before the Restoration of Charles II., and was buried at Kildare.

His Countess, Lady Joan Boyle, fourth daughter of Richard, the first and "Great" Earl of Cork, died before him on the 11th March, 1656, and was buried in her father's tomb in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

They had three sons, and six daughters :—

Richard, Lord Offaly, baptized in St. Werburgh's Church the 4th February, 1633 ; died an infant.

Wentworth, seventeenth Earl.

Robert, father of Robert, the nineteenth Earl.

Lady Elizabeth, }
Lady Joan, } died young.

Lady Eleanor, twin with Lady Joan, born in 1634. She was married, in 1656, before Ridgeway Hatfield, Mayor of Dublin, to Sir Walter Borrowes, Bart., of Grangemellon, and died in 1681.

Lady Catherine, "a lady of great piety and virtue," died unmarried in 1714, at a great age. She left all her personal property to her grand-nephew, James, Lord Offaly, afterwards Duke of Leinster.

Lady Frances, married, in 1656, before Benjamin Worsley, Esq., J.P., to Sir James Shaen, Bart.

Lady Elizabeth, married, first, Callaghan M'Carthy, second Earl of Clancarty ; and, secondly, Sir William Davies, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. She died in 1698.

WENTWORTH, SEVENTEENTH EARL.

Wentworth, seventeenth Earl of Kildare, was born in 1634, and was named after the Earl of Strafford.

On the 11th February, 1661, soon after his accession to the title, he was made a Privy Councillor, and was appointed Captain of a troop of horse, a post at that time held by persons of the highest rank. His brother Robert was, at the same time, sworn of the Privy Council, and also received a troop. On the 27th March he was appointed Governor of the County of Kildare, and of King and Queen's Counties.

On the 8th May he took his seat in the House of Lords, in the first Parliament held after the Restoration of Charles II., when he was the first of the Peers who delivered their writs.* On that occasion the Lords Justices having ascended the chairs set under the cloth of state, the robe was laid on the table before them, Lord Baltinglass carried the sword, Viscount Montgomery the cap, and the Earl of Kildare the robe.† On the same day he was named on the Committee of Privileges.

On the 25th May, he, with Lords Montgomery, Santry, and Ranelagh, was appointed by the House to search among the records for any reflections that had been cast on the honour of the Earl of Strafford by the Irish House of Lords, and in consequence of their report, parts of the records for the years 1640 and '41 were expunged on the 30th July.

On the 20th June, the two Houses of Parliament having agreed to send Commissioners to England to make arrangements concerning the Act of Settlement, the Earl, with the Bishop of Elphin, Viscount Montgomery, and Lord Kingston were selected by the Lords to

* Lords' Journals, vol. i. p. 231.

† Liber Mun. Hib., pt. vi. p. 11.

accompany certain members of the House of Commons to England, "for the service of his Majesty, the good of the Church, and the settlements of the kingdom."* On the 31st July, "Mr. J. Darcy was appointed Clerk to the Commissioners, on the Lord of Kildare engaging for his honesty;" on the 21st January, 1662, the allowance to each of the Commissioners was fixed at £200, and the salary of the Clerk at £50; on the 4th March it was ordered by the House of Lords, "that the Earl of Kildare, having brought a seasonable and satisfactory return of the instructions from the House of Lords to their Commissioners, have the thanks of this House ;"† and on the 9th April, 1663, he received £800 for his allowance and expenses as Commissioner.

On the 23rd July, 1661, the Earl held the Duke of Ormonde's proxy in the House of Lords.

The customs of the ports of Strangford and Ardglass, which had been granted by Henry VIII., in 1515, to the ninth Earl, having been confiscated to the Crown through the negligence of Valentine Payne, agent to the sixteenth Earl, Charles II. deemed it advisable, instead of restoring them to the Earl, to redeem them. He, accordingly, by a letter dated at Whitehall, on the 22nd April, 1662, ordered the Duke of Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant, to cause a sum not exceeding £10,000 to be paid to trustees, to be disposed of by them in the discharge of the Earl's sisters' portions, and his other debts and engagements. The sum actually paid was £8,000, of which £1,500 was assigned to his brother Robert.

* Lords' Journals, vol. i. p. 254. † Ibid., p. 290.

On the 30th May, 1662, the Earl was present at the passing of the Act of Settlement by the House of Lords.

On the 14th April, 1663, the^{*} Lord Lieutenant was authorized to grant letters patent to the Earl "for the pardon of all treason and other crimes and offences whatsoever, committed by him against the Crown during the late troubles." This grant was made on the 22nd July.

The Earl resided at Kilkea Castle, not being able, in consequence of losses suffered during the rebellion, to restore Maynooth Castle.

He died of fever on the 5th March, 1664, universally lamented, being only 30 years of age ; and was buried on the next day in Christ Church Cathedral, in Dublin.

He married Lady Elizabeth Holles, second of the thirteen daughters of John, second Earl of Clare. He received with her £6,000 as her fortune. During her widowhood she resided at Kilkea Castle. She died on the 30th June, 1666, and was buried beside her husband. They had one son and three daughters:—

John, eighteenth Earl.

Lady Mary, died an infant.

Lady Anne. She had a fortune of £6,000, and married, first, Hugh Boscawen, of Tregothnan ; and secondly, the Hon. Francis Robartes, M.P., and Vice-President of the Royal Society. Their son succeeded as fourth Earl of Radnor. She died on the 4th May, 1715, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Lady Eleanor died young.

JOHN, EIGHTEENTH EARL.

John, eighteenth Earl of Kildare, was born in 1661, and being only three years of age at the time of his father's death, was left under the guardianship of his mother. At her decease, in 1666, he was committed to the care of his grandmother, the Countess Dowager of Clare, daughter and co-heiress of the celebrated Lord Vere, of Tilbury.

Under the Act of Settlement of 1662, it was enacted that the Earl of Kildare should have the pre-emption of any forfeited lands, which were held by any tenure under George or Wentworth, Earls of Kildare, and also of any lands surrounded by or intermixed with his estates. This provision being thought to obstruct the settlement of the country, was repealed by the Act of Explanation, when it was enacted that the Commissioners for the execution of the Act were "to set out unto John, Earl of Kildare, as much undisposed forfeited lands as would amount to the yearly value of £500, which lands were to be contiguous to his lordship of Kilkea." This provision being unfulfilled, a petition was presented to the King on the part of the Earl, stating that he was under age, and praying that lands to the stated amount might be settled upon him. Accordingly, by a letter dated the 18th November, 1670, a commission was ordered to be issued to inquire into his Majesty's title to certain lands in various counties, which, to the aforesaid amount, should be settled on him and his heirs of entail. Whether any or what lands were thus acquired does not appear.

In 1672, the Earl received from the King a grant for a weekly market at Rathangan; in 1674, another for a weekly market, and two yearly fairs at Castledermot; and in 1678, a third for a weekly market and two yearly fairs at Maynooth.

On the 8th August, 1674, he was appointed joint Governor of the County of Kildare, with his uncle Robert Fitz Gerald; the duties to be performed by the latter until the Earl was of age, and then by the Earl alone, or by the survivor of them.

In 1683, soon after he came of age, he accompanied James, Duke of York, the Duchess, and their daughter, Lady Anne, to Oxford, where the degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him.

After the accession of James II., the Earl suffered the same hardships as other Protestants. In 1689, his estates in Ireland of the annual value of £6,800, were sequestered by the Parliament held in Dublin, and £200 a year in England.

In 1692, the Earl not appearing in the Irish House of Lords, on being called a second time a writ or summons was issued to him, among others, to attend on the 21st November, or otherwise to be fined £300.*

About the year 1692, an Act was passed enabling the Earl to sell his estates in the County of Limerick, in order to pay incumbrances amounting to £9,300, and the rest of the purchase-money, except £2,000 for the Earl's private use, to be invested in land in England. The estates were sold in 1711, when Adare was

* Lords' Journals in Lib. Mun. Hib.

purchased by the ancestor of the Earl of Dunraven, and Croom by Mr. Croker of Ballynagarde.

The Earl appears to have resided constantly in England, at Caversham in Oxfordshire.

He died there on the 9th November, 1707, at the age of forty-six, and was buried in the Duke of Richmond's vault, in Henry VIII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey.

By his will, dated 19th March, 1704, he left the purchase money of his Limerick estates to the Duke of Richmond, but the estates not having been sold at the time of his death, the Duke succeeded to them, and disposed of them soon after. The Earl also left £100 a year to his aunt, Lady Catherine Fitz Gerald, ten shillings to his sister, Lady Anne Robartes, and £200 to the poor of Caversham.

He married, first, the Hon. Mary O'Brien, eldest daughter of Henry, Lord Ibrackan and grand-daughter of the seventh Earl of Thomond. They had a son James, Lord Offaly, who died young.

And, secondly, in June, 1684, Lady Elizabeth Jones, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Richard, Earl of Ranelagh. She had a fortune of £10,000. They had no issue.

Pictures of the Earl and his second Countess, by Wissing, are at Carton.

The Earl was succeeded by his cousin Robert, son of his uncle, Robert Fitz Gerald.

ROBERT FITZGERALD.

The Hon. Robert Fitz Gerald, second son of George, sixteenth Earl of Kildare, was born in August, 1637,

and was baptized on the 17th of that month, in Saint Werburgh's Church.

He was "a young man of great energy and spirit," and was an active promoter of the Restoration of Charles II.

On the 1st February, 1661, the King, "in consideration of the many faithful and eminent services done unto him, in the late transactions of his happy and memorable restoration," granted to him the lands of Tymoge, &c., in the Queen's County (which had been demised by the eleventh Earl of Kildare to his natural son Gerald, for 101 years, and had been forfeited by the rebellion of Gerald FitzGerald in 1641), for the remainder of the unexpired term of the lease.

On the 11th February, he was, with his brother the Earl, sworn as one of the Privy Council, and also received a commission as Captain of a troop of horse, the army being then not regimented. On the 15th April, he was appointed Comptroller of the Musters and Cheques of the army in Ireland, with a fee of 20s. per diem, and on the 17th April he was elected to represent the County of Kildare, in the House of Commons.

He at that time resided at Grangemellon, near Athy, of which place he obtained from his brother-in-law, Sir Walter Borrowes, in 1674, a lease for 999 years, to commence at the expiration of a former lease to his brother, the Earl, for 61 years, from 1661. Of the house a gateway, flanked by two towers, alone remains.

On the 4th August, 1663, he married Mary, daughter and heiress of James Clotworthy, of Monnimore in the County of Londonderry, brother of Viscount Massarene.

On the 8th August, 1674, he was appointed joint Governor, with his nephew, the Earl of Kildare, of the County of Kildare, and was to exercise the duties of that office until the latter attained his majority in 1682.

On the 6th August, 1677, he received the degree of LL.D. at Oxford, from the Duke of Ormonde, Chancellor of the University.

On the 1st May, 1680, he was made Custos Rotulorum of the County of Kildare.

In February, 1685, three weeks after the accession of James II., he was deprived of all his offices, and of his troop, for which he had paid £2,000. The King and his minister, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, had endeavoured to induce him, by offers of advancement, to join their cause, but having been educated in England, in the Protestant faith, he refused, and they were heard to exclaim, that "that gentleman would force them to ruin him, which they were sorry for."

Soon after Lord Tyrconnell had assumed the government of Ireland in 1686, Fitz Gerald was arrested, and taken in an insolent manner through the streets of Dublin, to the house of the Chief Justice Nugent, by whom he was committed to Newgate prison, and confined in a common cell. It having been represented to the Government that his health and that of others would suffer in that prison, the reply was, "It is good enough for them." At the end of twenty-one weeks, in consequence of frequent applications on his behalf, he obtained an order of Council for his release on bail, and was permitted to live in his own house; but five months

after, on a suspicion that he was in correspondence with the disaffected citizens, a regiment of infantry was quartered in the three neighbouring houses to watch him. For two years he was deprived of his estates and employments to the value of £3,300 per annum, but during that time he was constantly supplied with every requisite by unknown persons.

On the landing of William III. in Ireland, in June, 1690, though he had permission to remain under a guard, in his own house, he was taken, at a moment's notice, by an officer of militia and seven men to the Castle, in the guard-room of which he met Drs. King and Foy, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Waterford; and after some deliberation, he was sent to Trinity College, and confined there with about fifty other prisoners of distinction.

On the 2nd July, 1690, when the news of the Battle of the Boyne reached Dublin, the city was in great confusion. At the first alarm Fitz Gerald sent Sir Robert Gore with some servants to the Castle with a letter, requiring Mr. Spike, the Governor, to surrender it to Sir Robert. He then, with the Bishop of Limerick, Dean Burke,* and eight or nine gentlemen, proceeded from the College towards the city. Near Lord Charlemont's house, they were stopped by a sentinel, who threatened to fire upon them, but Captain Reynolds seized his musket, while Fitz Gerald, taking his sword, advanced with it in his hand to the city, where he was no sooner seen, than the inhabitants, throwing open the

* Dean of Emly, and afterwards Bishop of Ardagh.

doors and windows, cried, "Here is Captain FitzGerald, now we are safe." Leaving a guard at the Custom House (now Wellington-quay), he went to the Castle, which he found in the custody of Sir R. Gore. There, having been informed that a crowd had assembled with the intention of plundering the houses of the Catholics, he went among them and dissuaded them from their purpose. He then proceeded to the Tholsel (the site of which is now Christ Church-place), where he was informed that Colonel Luttrell, the Governor of the city and garrison of Dublin, had departed on horseback, saying that "Mr. FitzGerald would soon be in his place." In Skinners'-row (Christ Church-place), a crowd of armed citizens had assembled, at whose head was a gentleman with the city keys in his hands. FitzGerald went to him and demanded "By what authority he had those keys?" And on the reply of "By a better authority than yours," he took them from the gentleman, who, on being informed that it was FitzGerald, begged his pardon, and said that he and his party were seeking for him, in order to present the keys to him.

About a hundred of the Protestant inhabitants having assembled, he sent sixty to the different gates of the city, and ten to the Mint Office. He then went to the main guard, where the officer of militia, who was on duty with about thirty men, their arms loaded and matches lighted, threatened to fire on him; but who, after much expostulation, being told that "King William was at hand, and that he could have no hopes of mercy but in immediate surrender," gave up his pike, and ordered his men to lay down their arms, which FitzGerald placed

in the hands of Protestants. He then returned to the Castle, and having placed all the guards, and ordered all the rounds, went, at twelve o'clock at night, to a friend's house in the city, from which, with the Bishop of Limerick, Dean Burke, and other gentlemen, he sent a letter to King William, giving him an account of these transactions, assuring him that the city and Castle of Dublin were at his command, and requesting assistance to maintain order.

At about four o'clock on the morning of the 3rd July, being informed that some of King James's army had returned, and were setting fire to part of the city, he called out the guard, consisting of thirty men, and went to where the danger was greatest. The plunderers fled, but he seized one man in the act of setting fire to some thatched houses in Kevin-street. As he was a French soldier, acting under the orders of his Major, he released him after two days' confinement. About daybreak a mob again assembled with the intention of burning the houses of the Catholics. These he addressed, asking them if they had forgotten how he had disarmed the guard, when they, the Protestants, had no arms to defend themselves. This pacified some, but others having broken into Colonel Sarsfield's house while he was speaking, he enforced order among them with his sword and cane. He was thus in constant danger from four to seven o'clock, but through his exertions not one life was lost in the city, and by his discretion and decision he saved the magazines and the property of both the Protestants and Catholics. At seven o'clock he sent letters and messengers to all the former Privy

Councillors, to the Protestant Town-Councillors, and to some eminent clergymen, requesting them to meet him; and when they had assembled, he made a short speech upon the state of affairs. After they had thanked him, they appointed a Committee of five to manage the affairs of the city. This number was afterwards increased to nine. At eight o'clock, on an alarm that the French troops were returning to Dublin, he assembled a considerable body of men under arms, and having sent out horsemen as scouts, he wrote the following letter, addressed—

“To the Chief Officer commanding any body of their Majesties’ horse, foot, or dragoons, on their march to Dublin. Haste, Haste, Haste, for his Majesty’s service.

“Sir,

“This town is now at His Majesty’s service, only the rabble is very numerous, and we are afraid will be disorderly; and ’tis feared that some parties of King James’s forces, who are within six miles, will return and rifle the town. We therefore intreat you to come or send some party of the forces under your command, to relieve and assist us, with all expedition, and secure his Majesty’s subjects from any further inconveniences.

“R. FITZGERALD.

“*Dublin, July 3rd, at Noon, 1690.*”

This letter reached the King sooner than those which were sent eight hours before. He received the news of the city being in his hands with great satisfaction, and

said : " I see I have some good friends at Dublin, and am much obliged to Mr. Fitz Gerald. Pray tell him (being on horseback) I can't now write to him, but will take care to send him some horse as soon as I can, and desire he will go on with taking care of the place as he has done."

In the meanwhile, the Committee of nine selected Fitz Gerald as Governor of the City and Castle of Dublin; and delivered to him the following document:—

" Whereas the City and Castle of Dublin have been deserted by the late Governors appointed by King James ; and it is necessary that some care be taken to supply that office, we therefore desire that the Honourable Robert Fitz Gerald would take upon him and execute the office of Governor of the said City and Castle, till his Majesty's pleasure be known."

On the 4th July, at about ten o'clock, Sir Robert Southwell arrived with a message from the King, to inform them that before dinner two regiments of horse would arrive. He then took Fitz Gerald aside, and said many kind things to him from the King, and concluded with these words : " His Majesty bids me assure you he is your true friend by this token ;" he then took out of his pocket a small silver medal, which Fitz Gerald had sent to the King, in order that he might rely upon any intelligence which might be brought by the bearer of the token. Within an hour after, a body of horse arrived, and on the next day the blue Dutch guards marched in, to whom Fitz Gerald surrendered the town guard and Castle. He had not slept three hours on the preceding night.

On the next day, Sunday, 6th July, when the King went from the camp to St. Patrick's Cathedral, FitzGerald presented to him the keys of the City and Castle. The King at once returned them to him, saying, "Sir, they are in good hands ; you deserve them well, and may keep them." However, about a week after Colonel Floyd assumed the command of the Castle.*

On the 9th July the King appointed Fitz Gerald and others Commissioners to take charge of all forfeited goods.

On the 1st December he was appointed a member of the Privy Council, and on the next day he signed the first proclamation, which prohibited any of the King's subjects of Ireland to trade with France, or to correspond with the French King, or his subjects.

On the 22nd September, 1692, and again on the 13th August, 1695, he and his son George were elected Members for the County of Kildare.†

He was the author of two pamphlets, "Salt Water sweetened, or a true account of the great advantage of this new invention both by sea and land," dedicated to King Charles II., London, 1683, 4to., and "A full and true account of the late Revolution in Dublin, and of what happened there from the time of the defeat of King James's army at the Boyne, the 1st July, 1690, till King William's entry there. In a letter from a gentleman who was then prisoner in the College of Dublin, to another in London, dated August 15th, 1690." London, 1690. Folio.‡

* Lodge.

† Liber Mun. Hib.

‡ Ware's Writers of Ireland, B. 1. p. 207.

He died on the 31st January, 1699.

He married, in 1663, Mary Clotworthy, daughter and heiress of Colonel James Clotworthy, of Monnimore, County of Londonderry. She died on the 31st March, 1713. They had four sons and six daughters.

James, died young.

George, was a member of the House of Commons and succeeded his father. He died unmarried at the age of twenty-six years.

Robert, nineteenth Earl.

James, died young.

Mary, married, in 1684, John, first Viscount Allen. She died in 1692.

Elizabeth, married Henry Sandford, of Castlereagh, Member of Parliament for the County of Roscommon. Her son, Robert, married Lady Henrietta O'Brien, sister to the Countess of Kildare. She died in 1734.

Frances, married Michael Tisdal, of Martray, or Mount Tisdal, in Meath.

Catherine, married, in 1712, Dive Downes, Bishop of Cork.

Anne, died unmarried in 1709.

Margaret, married, in 1707, Tobias Hall, of Mount Hall, on the Narrow Water, County of Down.

ROBERT, NINETEENTH EARL.

Robert, nineteenth Earl of Kildare, was born in May, 1675. He succeeded his cousin, John, eighteenth Earl, in 1707.

On the 7th March, 1709, he married Lady Mary

O'Brien, eldest daughter of William, third Earl of Inchiquin.

On the 5th May he took his seat in the House of Lords. On the 6th he was appointed, with others, to draw up an address of condolence to Queen Anne on the death of her consort, Prince George of Denmark, and also of congratulation on the success of her army; and on the following day he waited on the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Wharton, with the address, to which the Queen returned a gracious answer, on the 23rd.

In that, and several succeeding sessions of Parliament, he was a member of the standing Committees of the House of Lords.

In May, 1710, he was made one of the Privy Council.

On the 25th May it was ordered by the House of Lords, "that the Earl of Kildare have the leave of the House to waive his privilege in a cause pending between his lordship and the Lady Catherine Fitz Gerald."

On the 28th November, the custody of the Great Seal, on the death of the Chancellor, was committed to the Earl, the Archbishop of Dublin, and Thomas Keightly, Esq.

The Earl, on that occasion, wrote the following letter to the Duke of Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant :—

*" 9^{ber} y^e 28th, from Dublin,
1710.*

" My Lord,

" Yesterday's expresse brought me y^e favour of y^r Graces, and am extreamly oblig'd to you for y^e honour you have done me, in thinking of me; besides y^r Graces

recommendation to her Majesty, and shall endeavor faithfully to execute y^e trust reposs'd in me, and all other things in my power for her Majesty's service, as well as y^r Graces commands, y^t I shall always be proud of obeying. The L^d Justices, Commissioners, and Judges were y^sday sworn, but hope y^t wont continue long ; but will be all supersesd'd soon by y^r Graces coming over, w^{ch} I am shure must be much desir'd by all, but especially by y^{se} y^t has y^e honour to know you. Y^s place is so dull for want of you, I hant a word of news to send y^r Grace, but must beleave to give you my humble thanks, and assshure you none is more yⁿ I,

“ My Lord,

“ Y^r Excellancys

“ Most obedant and most faithfull, humble Servant,

“ KILDARE.”*

On the 9th September, 1714, after the accession of George I., he was appointed one of the Lords Justices, and on the 9th October was sworn as one of the Privy Council.

In the first Parliament of George I., which met on the 12th November, 1715, the Earl presented to the House of Lords, a Bill, entitled, “An Act for recognizing His Majesty's title to the throne of Great Britain, France, and Ireland ;” and on the 14th he was appointed one of a Committee which was to prepare the address of congratulation to the King.

* MS.

In 1727, on the accession of George II., he was again sworn as one of the Privy Council.

In October, 1733, he was constituted, by the charter, one of the Incorporated Society for promoting Protestant schools in Ireland. He had in February given £500 for the school at Castledermot, which was opened in May, 1734, and was the first working charter school.

In October, 1739, he was, under the King's letter, appointed one of the Incorporated Company for carrying on the cambric manufacture in Ireland, to which he gave £500.

It was the wish of the Earl to have restored Maynooth Castle, but on examination it was found to be too much dilapidated; he in consequence determined to make Carton his residence.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, a lease of the townland of Carton, consisting of 403A. 1R. 16P. Irish, had been made by Gerald, fourteenth Earl, to William Talbot, grandson of Sir Thomas Talbot, of Malahide. He built there a house, which is the nucleus of the present mansion. He was elected Member for the County of Kildare in 1613, was created a baronet in 1622, and died in 1633. The estate passed eventually to his grandson, Richard, created Earl of Tyrconnell in 1685, and Duke in 1689. On his attainder in 1691, this property was forfeited to the crown, and was sold, subject to the head-rent of £10, payable to the Earl of Kildare, for £1,840, to Major-General Ingoldsby, who was one of the Lords Justices

of Ireland at the time of his death, in 1711.* From his descendant, Thomas Ingoldsby, of Walldridge, the Earl repurchased the lease for £8,000, on the 27th January, 1738-9, and at once commenced to enlarge the house. He appears to have resided until then in Kilkea Castle, of which a lease was made to Thomas Dixon, Esq., in 1741.

He died at Carton on the 20th February, 1744, at the age of sixty-eight, much lamented, having always been a true patriot, extensive in his charity, and truly exemplary in all stations of life.† He is said “to have been one of the most pious noblemen of the age,” but “extremely formal and delicate, insomuch, that when he was married to Lady Mary O’Brien, one of the most shining beauties then in the world, he would not take his wedding gloves off to embrace her.” The following lines are by a contemporary writer :—

Kildare’s a precedent for lords
To keep their honour and their words,
Since all our peers to him give place,
His fair examples let them trace,
Whose vertues claim precedence here,
Even abstracted from the peer
His morals make him still more great,
And to his titles and estate,
Add such a lustre and a grace,
As suits his ancient noble race,
Surrounding him with all their rays
Above the compass of our lays.
Instead of duns to crowd his door,
It is surrounded by the poor,
My lord takes care to see them serv’d,
And saves some thousands from being starved,
Nor does he think himself too great

* Book of Forfeited Estates, temp. William III.

† Lodge.

Each morning on the poor to wait;
And as his Charity ne'er ceases,
His fortune ev'ry day increases,
Has many thousands at command,
A large estate and lib'ral hand.*

He was buried, privately, at Christ Church, Dublin, where his Countess erected a very fine monument to his memory, on the north side of the Communion Table.

By his will he left to his Countess £1,200 a year, to be paid out of the Kildare estates ; his estates in the County of Down ; Carton and his house in Dublin, and all their furniture, recommending her to leave them to their son ; his plate and jewels, and all the residue of his personal property, desiring her, out of it, to finish the house and offices at Carton, according to the plan thereof. To his daughter, Lady Margaret, he left £20,000. He entailed his estates upon his son and his heirs, with remainder to his daughter and her heirs, remainder to his sisters and their heirs, who were to assume the name of Fitz Gerald. He also left £500 to each of the charter schools of Castledermot, Maynooth, and Strangford; £200 for rebuilding the church at Rathangan, and £50 to the poor of each of the towns of Maynooth, Kildare, Athy, and Castledermot.

He married, in 1708, Lady Mary O'Brien, daughter of William, third Earl of Inchiquin. She survived him many years, dying at the age of 87 in 1780. She was also buried in Christ Church. They had four sons and eight daughters, all of whom died young, except James, Lord Offaly, and Lady Margaret.

* Whyte's Essay on Dunning, 1740.

William, Lord Offaly, born 24th July, 1714.

Lady Mary, born 24th December, 1715.

Lady Elizabeth, born 11th May, 1717.

Lady Henrietta, born 11th June, 1719.

George, born 11th October, 1720.

James, Lord Offaly, born 29th May, 1722 ; the twentieth Earl.

Lady Catherine, born 2nd October, 1723.

Charles, born 16th December, 1724.

Lady Anne, born 31st December, 1726.

Lady Frances, born January, 1728.

Lady Margaret, born 2nd July, 1729 ; Countess of Hillsborough.

Lady Charlotte, born 3rd April, 1734.

JAMES, TWENTIETH EARL.

James, the twentieth Earl of Kildare, was born on the 29th May, 1722.

From the 20th February, 1737, to the 5th September, 1739, he travelled on the Continent.

On the 17th October, 1741, "James, Lord Offaly, of Carton," being then only nineteen years of age, was returned to Parliament as member for the borough of Athy.* He continued to sit in the House of Commons until his accession to the earldom in 1744.

After his father's death he was the only male representative of the Kildare branch of the Geraldines.

The family residence was at that time in Suffolk-street. The Earl, soon after his accession, wished to build a large house on the south side of the city ; but

* Liber Mun. Hib., pt. ii. p. 19.

failing to get a site there, he selected one on "Molesworth Fields," then unoccupied, and the foundation of "Kildare House," afterwards called "Leinster House," was laid there in 1745. The Earl is said to have replied to a person, who observed that "it was an unfashionable part of the town," "They will follow me wherever I go."

In 1745, when it was expected that Prince James, second son of the Pretender, was about to invade Ireland at the head of the "Irish Brigade," the Earl offered to raise and equip a regiment at his sole expense, but received from the Government the answer that "the King had no occasion for his regiment."*

On the 15th April, 1746, the Hon. Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, writes to Sir Horace Mann:—"The same Duke of Richmond has refused his beautiful Lady Emily to Lord Kildare, the richest and first peer of Ireland, on a ridiculous notion of the King's evil being in the family ; but sure that ought to be no objection ; a very little grain more of pride and Stuartism might persuade all the royal bastards that they have a faculty of curing that distemper."†

In April, 1746, the Earl was appointed one of the Privy Council.

On the 1st February, 1747, the Earl was created a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Leinster of Taplow, County of Buckingham. It being at that time necessary that the title of a British peerage should be taken from some place in England, the Earl having no property there, took his title from Taplow, which

* Pictorial Hist. of England. † Walpole's Letters, vol. ii. p. 113.

then belonged to his uncle, the fourth Earl of Inchiquin.

On the 7th February he married Lady Emily Mary Lennox, second daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond, and sister of Lady Holland, Lady Louisa Conolly, and Lady Sarah Napier.

On the 23rd February H. Walpole writes :—" Lord Kildare is married to the charming Lady Emily Lennox, who went the very next day to see her sister, Lady Caroline Fox, to the great mortification of the haughty Duchess-mother. They have not given her a shilling, but the King endows her, by making Lord Kildare a Viscount sterling ; and they talk of giving him a pinch-beck dukedom, too, to keep him always first peer of Ireland."*

In 1749, when William, Earl of Harrington, was Lord Lieutenant, a question arose as to the right of the House of Commons to vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue without the previous consent of the Crown. The leaders of the popular party were the Earl of Kildare, in the House of Lords, and the Speaker Boyle, in the House of Commons ; and of the Court party the Primate, George Stone, then one of the Lords Justices, was the chief. This question remained undecided until, in June, 1753, under the Lord Lieutenancy of the Duke of Dorset, during whose absence from Ireland the Primate was again Lord Justice, the Earl of Kildare, indignant at the conduct of the Irish Government, presented to the King, with his own hand, the following Memorial :—

* Walpole's Letters, vol. ii. p. 178.

“ To His Most Serene and August Majesty, King George II., of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and soforth.

“ The most humble memorial of James Fitz Gerald, Earl of Kildare, Baron of Offaly, Lord Leinster in England, &c., and one of his Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council of the Kingdom of Ireland,

“ Most humbly representeth :—That your memorialist is the eldest peer of the realm, by descent, as lineally sprung from the ancient and august blood of the noble Earl of Kildare, who came over under the invincible banner of your august predecessor, Henry II., when his arms conquered the Kingdom of Ireland. That your memorialist, on this foundation, has the greater presumption to address your august Majesty, as his ancestors have ever proved themselves steady adherents to the conquest of that kingdom and were greatly instrumental in the reduction thereof by their money, interest, and forces. That though they were first sent over with letters patent under Henry II.’s banner to conquer this kingdom, yet by the inheritance of lands by intermarriages with princesses of the kingdom, they became powerful, and might have conquered for themselves, notwithstanding which, their allegiance was such as that, on their Sovereign’s mandates to stop the progress of war, we obeyed, and relinquished our title of conquest, laid down our arms, and received that monarch with due homage and allegiance, resigning our conquests as became subjects, and also prevailed with sovereign princes, bishops, nobles, clergy, and gentry,

to acknowledge him lawful sovereign of Ireland, and of the seas, seaports, and other domains of the kingdom.

“That, on this presumption, your memorialist has in the most humble manner, at the request of the natives of Ireland, your Majesty’s true liege subjects, not only the aborigines thereof, but the English Colonies, sent over by Henry II., Richard II., Elizabeth, Charles, Cromwell the Usurper, William III., of glorious memory, and other Kings, your Majesty’s predecessors, and the conquerors of Ireland, made bold to lay before your Majesty the true state of their several and respective grievances, a burden now become too heavy to bear. And your memorialist was rather induced to lay this memorial at your august Majesty’s feet, as it was on good presumption surmised that all access to your royal ear was shut up, and your liege subjects debarred the liberty of complaining, a right ever allowed to your Majesty’s liege subjects, of what degree or condition soever. That no notice being taken of several remonstrances heretofore made by your Majesty’s liege subjects, it was humbly presumed that such remonstrances had been stopped and debarred in their progress to your royal ear. That your memorialist, at the request of several thousands of your liege subjects, as well the nobles as the clergy, the gentry, and commonalty of the Kingdom, has ventured on this bold step, for which he humbly craves your Majesty’s pardon, as nothing but the distress of his countrymen, your most loyal subjects, could have drawn him to this presumption.

“That, in general, the face of your loyal kingdom

wears discontent, a discontent not coloured from caprice or faction, but purely founded on ministerial misapplication. That, though several persons, particularly Nevil,* were called to account for the public money which they had drawn out of the Treasury and deposited in the banks, yet this inquisition came to nothing by the mediation of party and the interposition of power. That the Duke of Dorset's son, Lord George, though in high and lucrative employments already, not satisfied therewith, has restlessly grasped at power, insatiable in his acquisitions. That the Primate, who is now on the pinnacle of honour, connected with the said noble Lord, has made use of his influence to invest himself of temporal power, and like a greedy churchman, affects to be a second Wolsey in the senate. That influences being so predominant, corruption is so formidable, and election so controlled by the mighty power of these two statesmen, your loyal kingdom of Ireland feels the sad effects of it, and dreads the Duumvirate, as much as England did that of the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud. That your other ministers, officers, subjects, and servants being cut out of dignity and power, by this formidable monopoly, can scarce perform the proper functions of their ministry, as all measures are determined by fatal and influenced majorities in the Houses. That the citizens of Dublin have for a long time laboured under an unprecedented slavery, in subjection to the bankers of administration, who act in a despotic manner, raising

* He had embezzled money intended for the erection of barracks.

and disposing the public revenues of the City, just as to them seems fitting. That your Majesty's interest in the heart of your loyal subjects is likely to be affected by these arbitrary measures, as the landed interest is very much injured thereby, and as few care to represent their country in Parliaments, where a junta of two or three men disconcert every measure taken for the good of the subject, or the cause of common liberty.

“That your memorialist has nothing to ask of your Majesty, neither place, civil or military, neither preferment for himself or friends, and that nothing but his duty to your Majesty, and his natural hatred to such detestable monopoly, could have induced your memorialist to this presumption,

“Who is, in all respects,

“Your most loyal and dutiful subject,

“J. FITZGERALD.”

This remonstrance gave great offence to the Cabinet. In a letter written by the Lord Lieutenant to the Primate is the following passage: “Touching the Earl of Kildare's memorial presented to the King my master, it has neither served him nor injured us. It is looked upon, as it justly deserves to be, an act of presumption, and a step of faction. In a less mild administration, and under a reign less merciful, it would have proved an act full of danger.” And the Earl of Holderness, in a letter to the Chancellor of Ireland, wrote: “I am not a little concerned that the noble Earl of Kildare should take so bold a step as he may repent hereafter, and do assure you I think he has not shown himself a

person of discretion, be the act never so popular. He was but ill received, and very coolly dismissed, as indeed the presumption well merited ; for why should his Majesty receive any remonstrance concerning his kingdom or government, but from the proper ministers, or through the usual channel, viz., both Houses of Parliament ?”*

In Ireland the Earl was so popular that on the 16th November he was an entire hour passing through the crowd from the Parliament House to Kildare House ; and a medal was struck to commemorate the memorial, representing the Earl, sword in hand, guarding a heap of money on a table from a hand, which attempted to take it, with the motto, “Touch not, says Kildare.”

The disregard shown by the Government to the memorial so increased the public discontent, that in 1755 the ministry recalled the Duke of Dorset; the Primate's name, by the King's command, was struck off the list of Privy Councillors, and, through the influence of the Secretary of State, Mr. Fox (afterwards Lord Holland), the Lord Lieutenancy was given to Lord Hartington, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, an intimate friend of the Earl of Kildare, who induced the Earl of Besborough, the Speaker, and Mr. Maloney to give him their support.

On the 11th May, 1756, on the departure of the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Devonshire) for England, the Earl was nominated one of the Lords Justices.

On the 16th June, 1757, John, Duke of Bedford, the Secretary of State, wrote a letter to the Earl, who was

* Plowden's *Ir.*, vol. i. p. 313.

† Soon after appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer.

still Lord Justice, in which he says, "that he is concerned to find that the Lords Justices were uneasy because the King's letter relative to the admission of corn into Ireland, not having been sent to the Treasury, was mentioned in a second letter ; and that he did not think it advisable to adopt the Earl's proposal, that the two letters should be withdrawn, and a third issued."* And on the 2nd July, Mr. Rigby, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, wrote to the Duke : "I am very glad to find by your Grace's letter that Lord Kildare has acted so sensibly with relation to the King's letter."†

In September, 1757, the Duke of Bedford arrived in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and in October went on a visit to the Earl at Carton.

There were at that time three parties, viz., those of the Earl of Kildare, the Primate, Stone, and the Speaker, Ponsonby. The Duke, on beginning his administration, endeavoured to reconcile these discordant factions. In a letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated 5th December, 1757, he wrote : "I shall, with great willingness, undertake the task, however difficult it may be, which his Majesty has prescribed to me, of using my utmost endeavours to conciliate and unite those two at present very disunited parties—I mean the Kildares and Ponsonbys. This is the only step at conciliation that seems to me to be in any degree practicable."‡ These attempts, however, failed.

* Correspondence of John Duke of Bedford, vol. ii., p. 247.

† Ibid., p. 261.

‡ Bedford Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 311.

In February, 1758, the Duke wrote the following letter to Mr. Secretary Pitt :—

“(Most secret.) “*Dublin Castle, February 13, 1758.*

“Sir,

“There being no packet boat on this side, occasioned by the tempestuous weather and contrary winds, I have not yet ventured to send back Collins the messenger with my despatches, and I am by that means enabled to give you an account of what passed between the Earl of Kildare and me this morning, to whom I had, by means of a very private communication, given an intimation of the overtures made to me by the Primate a few days ago. I am sorry to be obliged to inform you, that I found his Lordship, notwithstanding I made use of every argument that occurred to me, founded upon public and private advantage, and upon the great honour he should acquire to himself, by putting an end to party and faction, which had almost ruined all government in this country, very firm, not to say obstinate, in adhering to his former resolutions, of never coming in to any terms with the Primate, and this to such a degree, that I found all I could say was lost upon him, which forced me to be content in insisting on his taking some time to consider of it, and to consult those grave and serious friends, of whose judgment and integrity, I believe, he has a good opinion. It will be useless and tiresome to you to enter into a detail of all the arguments I made use of ; it will suffice to tell you that they were the best my judgment, and the knowledge I had of his lordship's turn of mind, could suggest to me; and that I endeavoured

to show him that his firmness might prevent me from being of that utility to him, and those of his connexion, which otherwise I might be capable of, and that I feared this obstinacy would be the cause of putting him and his party more into the power of his adversaries, than a coalition with them could possibly do, which was the thing he seemed very apprehensive of, as I myself, whilst in the Government, should be the middle man betwixt both parties, and should have it in my power to check any superiority either might attempt to gain on the other, which, if authorised by his Majesty, as I made no doubt of being, I did most faithfully promise him to do. In this situation do affairs stand at present ; if anything new shall arise I will not fail to acquaint you forthwith with it.”*

In March, 1758, when the Lord Lieutenant intended to leave Ireland for a time, he endeavoured to persuade the Earl to allow himself to be nominated Lord Justice with the Primate, but without success. The following is a note from the Duke's diary :—“ March 6. Lord Longford was with me by appointment, and I desired him to lay before the Earl of Kildare my reasons for desiring him to act in government in my absence with the Primate, the Earl of Shannon, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. March 7. Lord Longford brought me the Earl of Kildare's answers, that he could not, with truth to the King, consistent with the good of Ireland, nor the restoring government under any administration to its true vigour, act jointly with the

* Bedford Corresp., vol. ii. p. 327.

Primate's government ; but that he was perfectly well disposed, as a private man, to promote peace, and a due subserviency to the government, under my administration."*

On the 18th October, 1758, the Earl was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in Ireland, "the King being well satisfied of his loyalty, integrity, and his fitness to execute and discharge that office."†

In March, 1760, having raised the Royal Regiment of Irish Artillery, he was appointed its Colonel.

In a letter from Mr. Rigby to the Duke of Bedford, dated St. James's place, 22nd December, 1760, is as follows :—"I have seen a letter from Lord Kildare, which says that he shall be for transmitting a money-bill, and would have signed the letter from the Privy Council here, had he been a member of it. He adds, that he thinks the present Government not proper to appease the heats of the country."‡ And on the 30th December, the Right Hon. Harry Fox writes to the Duke :—"My Dear Lord, I send your Grace those letters, received by post last night, from the Lord Kildare ; and I trouble you with the whole of them, as I think an abstract would not so well enable your Grace to make a judgment of the state of things in Ireland. It appears that Lord Kildare acts from principle honestly and fairly, yet with great candour and firmness towards those whom he opposes."§

On the 19th January, 1761, soon after the accession

* Bedford Corresp., vol. ii. p. 329.

† Liber Mun., pt. ii. p. 103.

‡ Bedford Corresp., vol. ii. p. 427.

§ Ibid., p. 428.

of George III., the Earl was continued in his office of Master-General of the Ordnance.

In February, the Duke of Bedford wrote the following letter :—

“ Tuesday, 24th February, 1761.

“ Give me leave to congratulate you on his Majesty having been graciously pleased to signify to me this morning, the intention of creating you a Marquis of Ireland, with the promise that you shall be created a Duke, whenever he shall think proper to make one of that degree either in England or Ireland, exclusive of any of his own family. This mark of the King’s entire approbation of your conduct during the late disputes in Ireland, gives me infinite satisfaction, especially as I have been entrusted by your Lordship in the conducting of this affair, as there is no one has your Lordship’s interest more zealously at heart than myself.

“ I am, &c.,

“ BEDFORD.”*

The Earl was created Marquis of Kildare and Earl of Offaly, under the Privy Seal, on the 27th February, 1761, and by patent, dated the 19th March.

On the 11th November, he was promoted to the rank of Major-General.

On the 10th December, he took his seat in the House of Lords under his new title.

On the 14th March, 1763, the patent appointing him

* Bedford Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 5.

Master-General of the Ordnance was revoked, and a new one issued, appointing him "Master-General as well of the Ordnance as of his Majesty's arms, armouries, and other habiliments of war in Ireland," with a salary of £1,500 a year.* This patent was revoked on the 8th February, 1766.†

On the 12th November, 1766, he was further created Duke of Leinster, by Privy Seal, and by patent on the 26th of that month, in the same year as the creation of the Dukedom of Northumberland, in consequence of the promise made through the Duke of Bedford, that he should "be created a Duke, whenever he (the King) shall think proper to make one of that degree in England or Ireland."

On the 30th March, 1770, he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-General.

In 1771, he, with several other Peers, signed a succession of protests against the acts of the House of Lords,‡ in voting an address, thanking the King for continuing Lord Townshend as Chief Governor, and another address to the Lord Lieutenant, and he and Lord Charlemont in vain endeavoured to dissuade Mr. Ponsonby from resigning the Chair of the House of Commons, in consequence of a similar vote in the House of Commons.§

On the 19th November, 1773, he died in Leinster House, in Dublin, at the age of fifty-one, and was buried in Christ Church.

* Liber Mun., pt. ii. p. 103. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid., pt. vii. p. 37.

§ Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. i. p. 292.

The character of the Duke has been thus drawn :*—
“He had great weight and authority in the House of Lords, not merely from his rank, considerable as it was, but from the honourable and generous part which he always took in the affairs of Ireland. He seldom, if ever, spoke in public, excepting some occasional visits to England, where he was as highly respected as illustriously allied. Lord Kildare resided in Ireland almost constantly. He not only supported his senatorial character with uniform independence, but, as a private nobleman, was truly excellent, living either in Dublin or among his numerous tenantry, whom he encouraged and protected. In every situation he was of the most unequivocal utility to his country : at Carton, in the Irish House of Lords, or in that of England, or speaking in the language of truth and justice in the closet of his Sovereign. No man ever understood his part in society better than he did : he was conscious of his rank, and upheld it to the utmost ; but let it be added, that he was remarkable for the dignified, attractive politeness, or what the French call nobleness of his manners. So admirable was he in this respect, that when he entertained the Lord Lieutenant, the general declaration on leaving the room was, that from the peculiar grace of his behaviour, he appeared to be more the viceroy than they did.”

It was his wish to manage his property according to the then English manner, and he expended a large amount in consolidating farms, and building houses for the tenants. He considerably extended the demesne at

* Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*, vol. i. p. 167.

Carton ; and, at one time, intended to have rebuilt the house. On one occasion, being informed in Dublin that "Carton was on fire," he replied, "Let it burn." The fire was, however, extinguished without having caused much damage.

There are pictures of the Duke and Duchess, by Ramsay, at Carton.

He married, on the 7th February, 1746, Lady Emily Mary Lennox, second daughter of Charles, second Duke of Richmond. She was born on the 6th October, 1731, and was god-daughter to George II., who gave her a silver christening cup, which is now at Carton. She survived the Duke many years, and re-married William Ogilvy, Esq., by whom she had two daughters—Cecilia Margaret, married to Charles Locke, Esq., and Emily Charlotte, married to Charles Beauclerc, Esq. She died on the 27th March, 1814.

The Duke had nine sons and ten daughters.

1. George, Earl of Offaly, born on the 15th January, 1748. He was god-son to George II., for whom the Earl of Harrington, then Lord Lieutenant, stood at the christening. On the 22nd January, 1761, Horace Walpole wrote : "I was excessively amused on Tuesday night : There was a play at Holland House, acted by children—not all children—for Lady Sarah Lennox, and Lady Susan Strangways played the women. It was Jane Shore ; Mr. Price, Lord Barrington's nephew, was Gloster, and acted better than three parts of the comedians. Charles Fox, Hastings ; a little Nicholas, who spoke well, Belmour ; Lord Offaly,* Lord Ashbroke, and other

* He was then 13 years old.

boys did the rest ; but the two girls were delightful, and acted with so much nature and simplicity, that they appeared the very things they represented.”* Lord Offaly died at Richmond House, on the 26th September, 1765, and was buried in the Church of St. Martin in the Fields, London.

2. William Robert, second Duke, born in Arlington-place, London, 2nd March, 1749. On the death of his elder brother, in 1765, he became Earl of Offaly, and when his father was created Duke, in 1766, Marquis of Kildare. On the 28th November, 1767, being only eighteen years of age, he was elected Member for the City of Dublin, in the place of Recorder Grattan, deceased. The other candidate was John La Touche, Esq., Banker, and the polling lasted eighteen days, the numbers at the close being :—

Marquis of Kildare, . . .	1707
La Touche,	1570

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The Marquis being at the time on the Continent, John St. Leger, Esq., was chaired in his stead.† On the 7th July, 1768, he was elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of Kildare, and on the 23rd for the City of Dublin, and made his election for the latter.‡ He continued to be a Member of the House of Commons until his father's death, in 1773. On the 24th January, 1772, he was appointed High Sheriff for the County of Kildare.§ In November, 1773, he succeeded

* Walpole's Letters, vol. iv. p. 118.

† Liber Mun., pt. ii., p. 15.

‡ Tablet of Memory.

§ Ibid., pt. iii., p. 147.

his father as Duke of Leinster. On the 22nd, he was appointed Governor of the County of Kildare, and took his seat in the House of Lords on the 30th. On the 4th November, 1775, he married the Honourable Emilia Olivia St. George, only daughter and heiress of Lord St. George. In 1789, on the formation of the Volunteers of Ireland, he was chosen one of the Generals, and was Colonel of the Dublin regiment. In 1783, on the institution of the Order of St. Patrick, he was the first of the original knights. In that year he sat in the Privy Council. In June, 1788, he was appointed Master of the Rolls.* On the 23rd February, 1798, he was appointed Custos Rotulorum of the County of Kildare.† In 1800, he received, as compensation for the disfranchisement of the Borough of Kildare, £15,000, and for Athy, £13,800, and Lord Ennismore, £1,200. The Duke died on the 20th of October, 1804, the Duchess having predeceased him on the 23rd June, 1798. They had five sons and eight daughters.

3. Lady Caroline Elizabeth Mabel, born 21st June, 1750, died 20th October, 1754.

4. Lady Emily Marie Margaretta, Countess of Bellamont, born 15th March, 1752 ; died 8th April, 1818.

5. Lady Henrietta Katherine, born 8th December, 1753, died 10th September, 1763.

6. Lady Caroline, born at Holland House, 6th April, and died in May, 1755.

7. Lord Charles James, born at Carton 20th June, 1756. He entered the royal navy. On the death of his father, he succeeded to the estate of Ardglass, in the

* Liber Mun., pt. ii.

† Ibid., p. 145.

County of Down. In 1776, and again in 1783, he was elected M.P. for the County of Kildare. In 1780 he attained the rank of Captain, and on the 1st March, 1792, was appointed Muster-Master General. In 1795, he was Captain of the *Brunswick*, one of the five ships that, on the 16th June, engaged the French fleet, consisting of 13 sail of the line, 14 frigates, 2 brigs, and a cutter. "Lord Charles Fitz Gerald, in the *Brunswick*, also kept up a very good fire from his aftermost guns; but that ship, from bad sailing, was forced to carry every sail." . . . "This action is commonly known by the name of Cornwallis' retreat, and was justly considered as one of the finest displays of united courage and coolness to be found in the naval history: the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the Admiral and his brave followers."* On the 14th February, 1799, he was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral. In June, 1800, he was elected M.P. for Ardfert, when he voted for the Union. In October he was created Baron Lecale. He died on the 18th February, 1810, when his title became extinct.

8. Lady Charlotte Mary Gertrude, born 29th May, 1758. She married, on the 23rd February, 1789, Joseph Holding Strutt, Esq., M.P. for Malden in Essex. In 1821, she was created Baroness Rayleigh. She died on the 12th September, 1836.

9. Lady Louisa Bridget, born 8th June, 1760, and died in January, 1765.

10. Lord Henry, born 30th July, 1761. He succeeded to the estate of Strangford, in the County of Down. In

* Brenton's Naval History, vol. i., p. 374.

1776 he was elected M.P. for the Borough of Kildare, and in 1790, for Athy and the City of Dublin, and made his election for the latter. In 1808, and again in 1811, he was elected M.P. for Kildare in the Imperial Parliament. On the 4th August, 1791, he married Charlotte Baroness de Ros, and had six sons and six daughters. He died on the 8th July, 1829.

11. Lady Sophia Mary, born 26th September, 1762, and died on the 21st March, 1845.

12. Lord Edward, born 15th October, 1763. He succeeded to the estate of Kilrush in the County of Kildare. He entered the army in 1780, and served with distinction in America. In 1783, he was elected M.P. for Athy, and in 1790, for the County of Kildare. In that year, refusing to support the Government measures, he was informed that he would not be permitted to have the rank of Lieut.-Colonel; on this he took the cockade from his hat, and dashing it on the ground, trampled upon it. In 1792 he went to France, where, in December, he married Pamela Sims, said to be daughter of Madame de Genlis. Whilst there, he was dismissed from the army. In 1796 he joined the United Irishmen, and having been arrested on the 19th May, 1798, he died of his wounds in Newgate prison on the 4th June. He had one son and two daughters. After his death he was attainted by Act of Parliament, 58 Geo. III. c. 11, and his estate forfeited and sold. This Act was repealed by a private Act in 1819.

13. Lord Robert Stephen, born 15th January, 1765. He succeeded to the estate of Cappagh, in the County of Kildare. He entered the Diplomatic service, and was

secretary to the Ambassador in Paris, Earl Gower, afterwards Duke of Sutherland, in 1790, during the commencement of the Revolution. He was afterwards Minister in Switzerland, Denmark, and Portugal. In 1798, being at Copenhagen, he offered an asylum to his brother, Lord Edward, in the English embassy ; but at the same time sent in his resignation, which, however, George III., on hearing the cause, refused to accept, saying that, "a good brother could not be a bad minister." In 1804, he was elected M.P. for Kildare. After the death of his brother, the Duke, in that year, he was on the 20th December, appointed Governor of the County of Kildare. He married Sophia, daughter of Captain Charles Fielding, R.N., and had three sons and five daughters. He died on the 22nd January, 1833.

14. Lord Gerald, born 15th March, 1766. He entered the royal navy, and was lost at sea, in a frigate, in the Gulf of Florida, in January, 1788.

15. Lord Augustus Joseph, born 8th December, 1767, and died in 1771.

16. Lady Fanny Charlotte Elizabeth, born 28th January, 1770, and died in 1775.

17. Lady Lucy Anne, born 5th February, 1771 ; married in 1802, Admiral Sir Thomas Foley ; and died 20th January, 1851.

18. Lady Louisa, born and died 19th January, 1772.

19. Lord George Simon, born 16th April, 1773, and died in 1783.

Of the Geraldines, Giraldus Cambrensis wrote, in 1186, as follows :—

“Qui sunt qui penetrant hostis penetralia? Giraldidæ.

Qui sunt qui patriam conservant? Giraldidæ.

Qui sunt quos hostes formidant? Giraldidæ.

Qui sunt quos livor detractet? Giraldidæ.”

Thus translated by Holinshed in 1570 :—

“Who penetrated the strongholds of the enemy in that land?
The Geraldines.

Who preserved the country? The Geraldines.

Who made their enemies tremble? The Geraldines.

Who be they who, for their good deserts, are most maligned
and envied at? The Geraldines.”

There is a tradition that at the end of every seven years the Earl of Kildare may be seen riding across the Curragh on a white charger, shod with silver, and holding a cup in his hand; and that when he shall appear without the cup his race will become extinct. But according to another legend, when his horse's shoes are worn off, he will return to destroy the enemies of Ireland.

Who killed Kildare?

Who dared Kildare to kill?

Death killed Kildare,

Who dare kill whom he will.

APPENDIX I.

PATENT OF THE EARLDOM OF KILDARE.

“EDWARDUS, Die gratia, Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Aquitaniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justitiariis, Vice-Comitibus, Præpositis, Ministris, et omnibus Ballivis et Fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis quod nos pro bono et laudibili servitio, quod dilectus et fidelis noster Johannes Filius Thomæ de Hibernia, celebris memoriæ Domino Edwardo quondam regi Angliæ, patri nostro, et nobis hactenus impendit, et nobis impendet in futurum, dedisse, concessisse, et hac charta nostra confirmasse eidem Johanni, castrum et villam de Kildare, ipsumque præfecisse in Comitatem ejusdem loci: Habendum et tenendum eidem Johanni et hæredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, una cum fœodis militum, advocatibus ecclesiarum, abbatiarum, prioratum, hospitalium, et aliarum domorum religiosarum in comitatu de Kildare, homagiis, servitiis libere tenentium, firmariorum et betagiorum, wardis, maritagiis, releviis escaetis, molendinis, stagnis, vivariis, aquis, ripariis, piscariis, boscis, moris, mariscis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, libertatibus, liberis, consuetudinibus, et omnibus aliis ad prædicta castrum et villa pertinentibus; excepto officio Vicecomitis Comitatus de Kildare, et his quæ ad officium Vicecomitis ibidem pertinent, quæ nobis et hæredibus nostris volumus remanere; de nobis et hæredibus nostris per servitium duorum fœodorum militum in perpetuum. Et si idem Johannis obierit sine hærede masculo de corpore suo legitime procreato, tunc prædicta castrum et villa cum terris, redditibus, fœodis militum, advocationibus ecclesiarum, abbatiarum, prioratum, hospitalium, et aliarum domorum religiosarum, homagiis, servitiis libere tenentium, firmariorum et betagiorum, wardis, maritagiis, releviis, escaetis, molendinis, stagnis, vivariis, aquis, ripariis, piscariis, boscis, moris,

mariscis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus, et omnibus aliis ad prædicta castrum et villam, pertinentibus, ad nos et hæredes nostros integre revertantur. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris quod prædictus Johannes habeat et teneat sibi, et hæredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, prædicta castrum et villa cum terris redditibus, et aliis pertinentiis suis, sub honore et nomine Comitis de Kildare, simul cum fœodis militum, advocacionibus ecclesiarum, etc. (ut supra), et omnibus aliis ad prædicta castrum et villam pertinentibus, quoque modo, excepto officio Vicecomitis comitatus de Kildare, et his quæ ad officium Vicecomitis ibidem pertinent, quæ nobis et hæredibus nostris volumus remanere, de nobis et hæredibus nostris per servitium duorum fœodorum militum in perpetuum. Et si idem Johannes obierit sine hærede masculo de corpore suo legitime procreato, tunc prædicta castrum et villa, cum terris redditibus, etc. ad nos et hæredes nostros integre revertantur, sicut prædictum est.

“His testibus, Venerabilibus Patribus W. Cantuar., Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate; J. Norwicensi et W. Exoni, Episcopis; Johanne de Britannia, Comiti Richmond; Hugone le Despencer, Seniore; Rogero de Mortuo Mari de Wigmore; Hugo le Despencer, Juniore; Rogero de Mortuo Mari de Chirk; Johanne de Cromwell Senescallo Hospitii nostri, et aliis. Datum per manum nostram, apud Westmonaster. 14^o Die Maii, 1316.

“PER IPSUM REGEM.”*

* Selden, in his “Titles of Honour,” says, this “is the most ancient form of creation he had seen.”

APPENDIX II.

AN ACT TO ABOLISH THE WORDS "CROMABOO" AND "BUTLERABOO."—10 HENRY VII. c. i.

ITEM prayen the Commons in the present Parliament assembled, that forasmuch as there hath been great variances, malices, debates, and comparisons between diverse lords and gentlemen of this land, which hath daily increased by seditious means of diverse idle and ill-disposed persons, utterly taking upon them to be servants to such lords and gentlemen, for that they would be borne in such idleness, and their other unlawful demeaning, and nothing for any favour or entirely good love or will they bear to such lords and gentlemen. Therefore, be it enacted and established by the same authority, that no person ne persons of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree he or they may be of, take part with any lord or gentleman, or uphold any such variances or comparisons in word or deed, as in using these words Cromabo and Butlerabo, or other words like, or contrary to the King's laws, his crown, and dignity, and peace, but to call only on St. George, or the name of his Sovereign Lord the King of England, for the time being. And if any person or persons of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree, he or they may be of, do contrary, so offending in the premises or any of them, be taken and committed to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprise, till he or they have made fine after the discretion of the King's Deputy in Ireland, and the King's Counsail of the same, for the time being.

APPENDIX III.

THE COPIE OF THE CURSE GEVEN THOMAS FITZ GARALD AND OTHERS FOR KYLLYING OF THE ARCHBUSSHOP OF DUBLIN.

IN the name of God. Amen. By thauctorite of the Fader, the Sone, and tHoly Goost, and of the blissed Apostels Peter and Paule, saynt Patric th Apostell, and Patrone of Irlonde, all other the Apostels, and company of Heven, and by thauctorite of our Mother Holy Church, and the kepers of the spirituall jurisdiccion of the Metropolitan See of Dublin, the same Sea beyng voyde. Whear as Thomas Fitz Gerold, eldist sone to Gerold, late Erle of Kildare, of malyce pretensed, not oonlie procured John Telyng and Nicholas Wafer to put violent handes upon the most reverend Father in God, Lorde John Alen, of good memorie, late Archbusshop of the said Sea of Dublin, Prymat of Irlond, takyng him prysoner at Houth, within the dioces of Dublin, and from thens conveying hym to Tartayne, in the same diocesse; but also, in the same, he, the said Thomas, accompaned with John Fitz Gerold, Edward Rookes, and dyverse other evyll-disposed persones, moost shamefullie, tyrannyusly, and cruellie murdred and put to death the said Archbusshop; for which execrable, abhomynable, detestable, and dampnable acte, accordyng to the prescriptes and ordynaunce of Holy Church, we publishe and declare the said Thomas Fitz Gerold, John Fitz Gerold, Olyver Fitz Gerold, James Delahide, Edward Rookes, John Telyng, Nicholas Wafer, and all other, which gave commandment, counsaill, favor, helpe, ayde, assistaunce, comeforte, or consentid to the same, or after thacte commytted, ded ratifie, accept, approve, or wilfullie defende it, or socor, or receyve any suche saide personnes, to be excommunicate, accursed, and anathemazate. And to thentent all Cristen people may the rather take knowlege therof, and avoyde and eschue the daunger of the same, we invoke and call in vengauce against the said Thomas, and every of the persones aforesaid, the

celestiall place of Heven, with all the multitude of angels, that they be accursed before them, and in their sight, as spirittes condempned; and the devell to stand and be in all their doinges, on ther right hand, and all ther actes to be synfull, and not acceptable before God. Been they, and every of thaym, cast out from the company of Cristen people, as dampned creaturs, and all that they shall doo, to be done in ther dampnable offence and syne. Lett thaym be put out of ther howses and mansyons, which oder men may take, and put to decay and ruyne; ther labors to be frustrat from all goodnes. Lett no man be to thaym mercifull, and ther memorie for ever in the erth to be forgotten. God Almighty may rayne upon thaym the flames of fyer and sulfure, to ther eternall vengeance, and that they may cloth thaym selfs with the malediction and high curse, as they daily cloth them with ther garmentes; the water of vengeance may in the inner partes of ther bodies, as the mary is their bonnes. Been they, and every of thaym, gyrded with the gyrdels of malediction and curses. Been they, and every of thaym, parte takers with the wycked Pharoo, and Nero, Herode and Jude, the proditors of Jhesu Crist, and with Daron and Abyron, whoom the erthe swallowed qwyck, so may they disend into hell qwyck. O good Lorde! send to thaym, and every of thaym, hunger and thyrst, and stryke thaym, and every of thaym, with pestilens, till they, and every of thaym, be consumed, and ther generation clene radycat and delytit of this worlde, that ther be no memorie of thaym, stryke thaym, and every of thaym, also, with suche leapre, that from the hiest parte of the heed to the sole of ther fote, ther be no hole place. Stryke them also with madnes, blyndnes, and woodnes of mynde, that they may palpe and clayme, also handle as blynde men dothe in darknes. And further been they cursed, and put from the company of all Cristen people, for they cannot have paynes according ther deservyng. And by thauctorite aforsaid, we do declare interdict the place, wher the same Arch-busshop was killed; which interdiction we will to be observed accordyng thordynauce of Holy Church in this behalf; and lykewise do interdict all cities, landes, townes, castels, willages, all manner of chapels, and all other places, wherein the said cursed person been, or anny of thaym be, or at anny tyme hereafter shalbe,

come, or resorte unto; willing and commandyng all spirituall persons of this dioces and provynce of Dublin, upon payne of the lawe, to cease from administration of all devyne service, as longe as the said Thomas Fitz Gerold, John Fitz Gerold, Olyver Fitz Gerold, James Delahyde, John Telyng, Nicholas Wafer, Edward Rookes, or anny other of the said cursed persons, or anny of thaym, shalbe present, and so contynue thre dayes after ther departure. And also by the same auctorite, decre them, and every of thaym, to be deprived of all spirituall honors, dygnites, offices, benyfyces, and all other ecclesiastycall profightes and commodites, what so ever they bee, which they now possesse; and inhabill thaym, and every of thaym, to receyv or accept any other lyke, in tyme to come. Furder, by the same autorite, we excommunicate and curse all persones, thoos, and in the cases which the law permittith, except which, after due knowlege, the executyon of this sentence of the great curse; and specially the servauntes and famyliers, of the said cursed persones, that from hensforth shall do anny service, kepe cumpany, famyliarite, talke, comon, speke, ayde, comforte, or socor the said Thomas Fitz Gerold, John, Olyver Fitz Gerold, James, John, Nycholas, or Edward, or any other present at the kylleng of the said Archbusshop, gyveng commandment, counsayleng, favoring, helpyng, aydeng, assystyng, comfortyng, or consentyng to the said murder; and either afterward ratifieng, approvyng, or willfully defendyng the same acte, and all thoys which shall mynister, or gyve unto thaym, or anny of thaym, meate, drynke, water, fyer, dresse ther sustenance, or gyve anny of thaym anny maner of comforte or helpe. And to the terror and feare of the said dampnable persons, in signe and fygure, that they be accursed of God, and ther bodies gyven and commytted into thands of Satan and Lucyfer, we have ronge thes belles, erecte this cross with the fygure of Crist, &c. And as ye see thes candelles light taken from the crosse, and the light quenched, so be the said cursed murderers and rebellious persons agaynst the lawes of God, and our Moder Holy Church, excluded and separated from the light of Heaven, the feleshyp of angels, and all Cristen people, and shalbe sent to the low derknes of fendes, and dampned creaturs, among whom everlasting paynes dooth indure. And thes thre stones, which we cast

towards ther inhabitacions, is done to the terror of thaym, that they may the soner come to grace, in token of the vengauce which God toke agaynst lyke cursed persones called Dathon and Abyron, being so detestable in the sight of God, that the erth opened and swallowed them qwyck into Hell. Yet trustyng that Our Salvyor, Jhesu Crist, of His infynite mercye, may call them to grace of repentaunce, and amendesment of this ther execrable offence, ye shall devotlie pray with us. "Revelabunt Celi iniquitatem," &c. cum spalmo "Deus laudem." Fiat. Fiat. Amen.

*To Mr. Lyventennaunt at the Kynges Tower
of London.**

* State Papers, temp. Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 217. This copy must have been transmitted to the Lieutenant of the Tower for the purpose of being communicated to the Earl of Kildare, who was his prisoner.

APPENDIX IV.

AN ACT FOR THE ATTAINDER OF THE EARL OF KILDARE AND OTHERS.

PRAYETH the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that forasmuch as Gerald fitz-Gerald, late Earle of Kyldare, amongst manifold and diverse enormities, abuses, and offences, contrary to his naturall duty of allegiance, attempted and committed against the crown, right, majesty, and dignity of our natural and most dread sovereign lord Henry the eight, by the grace of God, King of England and France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland, and in earth, supreme head of the church of England, the xvi. yeare of his most noble reign, confedred and assented to, and with one James late earle of Desmond, being openly proclaimed and published rebell and traytor against our said soveraigne lord, for that he the said James should send to the French King then enemy unto his grace, and at open war with him and his dominions, to excite, provoke, and stur the same French King to send into this land of Ireland an army, for the taking of the same land out of our said soveraign lords possession; and notwithstanding that his traiterous entent would not take effect, by reason of a peace that then immediately was concluded betwixt our said soveraigne lord and the French King, he sent unto the Emperour, provoking and intising him to send an army into this said land for the purpose aforesaid. Our soveraign lord the King having privie intelligence thereof, willed secretly the said earle of Kyldare, then being his graces deputy of his land of Ireland, to apprehend and take the said James earle of Desmond, the same earle of Kyldare, falsely and trayterously admonished the said James thereof, willing him to come to no place where he the same earle of Kyldare should be or have any power upon him. And being of this and diverse other offences, remitted and pardoned by our said

sovereign lord the King, afterward, sojourning at Newington in the county of Middlesex, within the realm of England, the eight day of July, in the twentieth yeare of the raign of our said sovereign lord, willed and commanded his daughter Elice fitz-Gerald, wife to the Baron of Slane, to repaire into this the Kings land of Ireland, and in his name to will all his brethren O Neyel, O Conor, and all other his friends, servants and alies, to levy, erect, stir and rear war against our said sovereign lords deputy and subjects, falsely and trayterously against his duty of allegiance, which shee accomplished accordingly; by occasion whereof, the persons aforementioned falsely and trayterously made insurrection against our said sovereign lord and his deputy, by invasion, and burning, killing, murdring, and robing his true obedient subjects, not desisting from the same their trayterous acts untill they were by force repressed by the puisance and power of our said sovereign lord. And notwithstanding his grace of mercy and pity remitted and pardoned, the said earle of Kyldare that his trayterous conspiracies and offences, the same earle the xxiiii. year of our said sovereign lord, falsly and trayterously, contrary to the lawes and statutes of this land of Ireland and his allegiance, not onely permitted and suffered O Neyle the Kings Irish enemy, to invade and destroy the county of Uriell within the said land, without any resistance made therein by himselfe being the Kings deputie, having the governance, custodie and charge of the same, or any other for him, but having his brother Sir John in company with the said O Neyle, by his commandement, to succur and guide, ayde and conduct the said O Neyle in that his trayterous enterprise, but also in his owne proper person invaded the county of Kylkenny, there burning and destroying the same, ryfling and robbing the Kings subjects aswell there as at the fair of Tristeldermot, crying havocke upon the Kings subjects which thither were resorted, caused them in his own presence to be spoiled and robbed of their goods, and divers of them murdred most cruelly and trayterously. Our said sovereign lord having notice of this and other his treasons, haynous offences, murders and exortations by him committed, and willing the reformation of the said land, and the relief and comfort of his subjects there, addressed his most gracious letters to the said earle of Kyldare, then being deputie

lieutenant of his said land, commanding him by the same, to repayr to his highnesse presence into his realm of England, leavyeing such a person for the furniture of his realm, and governance of the said land in his absence, for whose doings he would answer. That notwithstanding at his said departure into England, he admitted and instituted in his place for the governance of the Kings said land and subjects, as vice-deputy, not onely his son and heyre, named Thomas fitz-Gerald, but also, contrary to the Kings express commandment, declared unto the said earle by John Alen master of the rolls, and one of the Kings most honourable counsail, in the presence of the bishop of Mieth, and the prior of Saint Johns Jerusalem in Ireland, he conveyed out of the Kings Castell of Dublin all his graces gunnes, poudre, shot, bowes, arrowes, caltrops, bills, and all other the Kings artillerie and munitions of war, garnishing and furnishing his own castles and fortresses with the same, and delivering part therof to wilde Irish men, being the Kings mortall enemies. After whose departure into England, he at his thither coming, perceiving upon the manifestation of his offences, that the Kings majestie entended to remove him from the governance of the said land, such persons as were known to be chief of counsail with the said earl, and under him had not onely the governance of his said son, servants and people, with the custodie of his substance and goods, but also of all his lands, manors, castles and garisons, aswell counsailed the said Thomas fitz-Gerald to rebell against our said sovereign lord, as for the maintenance of him therein, delivered unto him the said earls goods, substance, manors, lands, castles, and garisons, together with the Kings said ordnance and artillerie. Whereupon the said Thomas fits-Gerald immediately, being assisted and ayded by his fathers brethren, kinsemen, servants, and followers, falsly and trayterously rebelled against our said sovereign lord, refusing and disobeying all commandments of his grace and his counsail, concluded and determined most cruelly to murder, put to death, and exile all those that were resiant within the land, being born within the realm of England, and to conquer and take the same from the possession of our sovereign lord and his heyres, reviling his grace with most shamefull and detestable infamies, and for the accomplishment of his trayterous purpose, did send his letters

addressed aswell to the bishop of Rome, as the emperour, by one Cale mac Grauyll, otherwise called Charles Raynolde, archdeacon of Kelles, for to have their ayd against our said sovereign lord and his heyres, for the winning of the said land of Ireland out of their possession, and he to hold the same of them for ever. And among other his most detestable abominations, he procured and commaunded John Teling, and Nicholas Waffer of Dublin yeomen, servants to the said earl of Kyldare, to apprehend and take the most reverend father in God John Allen, archbishop of Dublin and primate of Ireland, and one of the Kings most honourable counsail, and him to keep in prison at Tartayne within the county of Dublin, and the said Thomas fitz Gerald, the xxviii. day of July, in the xxvi. year of the raigne of our said sovereign lord King Henry the eight, accompanied with the most false disloyall traytour James Dalahyde, Sir John fitz Gerald, Oliver fitz Gerald, brethren to the said earl, and divers other of the same earles servants, caused the same archbishop to be drawn out of his bed and brought before him. And the same archbishop kneeling in his shirt bare footed and bare headed before him, asking of him mercy, immediately without any respite, most shamefully and trayterously murdred and killed out of hand, and also caused the said archbishops servants, and as many other Englishmen as he could find within the land, to be murdred. And after this, accompanied with the said James Dalahyde, being principall counsailor to him in all his doings, John Delahyde, Edward fitz-Gerald, Sir Richard Walsh, parson of Loughsewdie, John Burnel of Balgriffen, Edward Rowks, James Field, servants, alies and diverse others his fautours and adherents, too long here to be expressed, with weapons invasive after the maner of war arrayed, and with banners displayed, falsly and trayterously invaded the Kings dominion, encamping themselves within the same, there robbing, rifling, murdring, and destroying diverse the Kings subjects, constrayning all men to give an oath of obedience unto him, and to take his part against the King and his heyres, in his said false, trayterous and disloyall purposes and intents, and not herewith contented, but accompanied, with O Neyle, diverse Scots, the persons aforesaid, and many others, invaded, brent, and destroyed the lands of the earle of Ossorie, and the lord Butteler

his sonne, and of others the Kings subjects within the county of Kilkenny, murdred diverse of the Kings subjects there, for that the said earle and his son tooke the Kings part against him, who offered unto them to divide and give to them half the land of Ireland, to refuse the King, trusting by such his cruel persecutions, to constrain them to incline to his purpose. And further, amongst other his most false trayterous acts, accompanied with O Conor, William Bathe of Dullardeston, Christopher Eustace of Ballycutlane, and divers others besieged the Kings citie and castle of Dublin, intending to take the same, out of the Kings possession, and to murder the Kings subjects within the same, and thereof to disenherite our said sovereign lord and his heyres for ever. And semblably not only fortified and manned divers ships at sea, for keeping and letting, destroying and taking the Kings deputie, army and subjects, that they should not land within the said land, but also at the arrivall of the said army, the same Thomas, accompanied with the said earles brethren, his uncles, servants, and adherents, followers, James Delahyde, John Delahyde, John Burnell of Balgriffen, with diverse others, too long here to be expressed, falsly and trayterously assembled themselves together upon the sea coast for the keeping and resisting of the Kings deputie and army, and destroying of them, and the same time, they shamefully murdred divers of the said army coming to land. And Edward Rowkes, pyrate at the sea, captain to said Thomas and James Field, destroyed and took many of them.

II. In consideration whereof, and other abominable treasons, and offences committed against our said sovereign lord, his right, crown, and majestie, and dignitie, by the said Gerald earle of Kildare, Thomas fitz Gerald, James Delahyde, and other their aydors, comforters, counsaillers and maintainers, and in detestation of their abomination, tyrannie, falshood and crueltie : Be it enacted, ordained and established, by the King our sovereign lord, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That the same Gerald fitz Gerald, earl of Kyldare, late deceased, from the eight day of July, in the twentieth year of our sovereign lord the King that now is, be deemed, reputed, convicted, adjudged and attainted traytour of high

treason, and that he and his heyres shall lose and forfeit the title, stile, and name of earl of Kyldare, and shall also forfeit to our said sovereign lord and his heyres for ever, all honors, castles, manors, lordships, leetes, franchises, hundreds, liberties, priviledges, advowsons, nominations, foundations, presentations, patronages, knights fees, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, remainders, portions, annuities, pensions, offices, and all other hereditaments and profites whatsoever they be, whereof he the said Gerald earle by himself, or joyntly with any other, or any other or others to his use and behoof were seised the said eight day of July, or any time after, within the land of Ireland, in fee symple or in fee taylor, or in which the said Gerald late earle of Kyldare, or any other to his use, had the said eight day of July, or at any time after, lawful cause of entre within the land of Ireland. And over that the said earle lose and forfeit to the King our sovereign lord, aswell all manner of such estates of freehold in use or in possession to his use and interest, for years, of all manors, castles, honors, lands, tenements, tythes, oblations, and all other profites, as all other his goods, cattles, debts, duties, wards, marriages, relieves, and all other profites whatsoever they be, whereof the said earle or any other or others to his use or behoof, were seised or possessed the xxvi. day of June, in the xxvi. year of the reign of our sovereign lord, or any time sithence, of which goods, cattles, debts and duties, any sale, gift or payment without any fraud, deceit or collusion have not been made to or by the said earl.

III. Provided alway, and also be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all such person or persons which have been farmers, occupiers, tenants, receivers, bayliffs, stewards, servants, and all other officers of the said earl, of the said honors, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, and all other the premisses, and every parcel thereof at any time sithence the eighth day of July in the twentieth year of our said sovereign lord, unto the first day of February in the xxv. year of his graces reign, shall be discharged and acquitted against the King our said sovereign lord, his heys and successors, of and for all such rents, issues, revenues, and all other profits of the said manors, honors, castles, and all other the premisses, or any part or parcel thereof, which they or any of them

have payed or delivered, or caused to be payed or delivered unto the said earl of Kyldare, or any other or others by his assignment or commandment at any time before the said first day of February.

IV. And semblably, be it established, ordeyned and enacted by authority aforesaid, that the said Thomas fitz Gerald, son and heyr of the said earl, sir John fitz Gerald, Oliver fitz Gerald, uncles to the said Thomas, James Delahyde, son and heyr of sir Walter Delahyde of Moyclare, knight, John Delahyde, Edward Delahyde, parson of Kilbery, sons to the said sir Walter, John Burnel of Balgriffen, esq; sir Richard Walsh, parson of Loughsewdie, Chale mac Grauyll, otherwise called Charles Reynold, clerk, late archdeacon of Kells, James Gernon, son and heyr of Patrick Gernon of Gernooston, Christopher Parese, son and heyr to William Parese of Agher, Piers Walsh, son to Walter Walsh, Robert Walsh and Maurice Walsh, sons to William Walsh late of Tiecroghan, Edward Rowks yeoman, and every of them, be deemed, reputed, convicted, adjudged, and attainted traytors of high treason, and that the said Thomas, James Delahyde, John Delahyde, Edward Delahyde, John Burnell, Richard Charles, James Gernon, Piers, Robert Maurice, and Edward Rowkes, shall suffer such execution and pains of death, as in cases of high treason hath been accustomed. And that they, and also the said Christopher Parese, John in Gilsenan late of Ballymon, which are dead, and every of them, forfeit to our sovereign lord the King, his heys and successors for ever, all honors, castles, manors, lordships, hundreds, leetes, franchises, liberties, priviledges, advowsons, foundations, nominations, patronages, presentations, knights fees, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, remainders, portions, annuities, pensions, offices, and all other hereditaments and profits whatsoever they be, whereof they or any of them, or any other or others, to their use and behalf, or to the use and behoof of any of them were seised the xxv. day of July, in the xxvi. year of the reign of our said sovereign lord King Henry the eighth, or any time after within the land of Ireland in fee simple or fee tail, or into which any of them had then or any time after lawful cause of entre within the land of Ireland. And over that, they and every of them do forfeit and lose to our said sovereign lord the King, aswell all maner such estates of freehold and interest for years of lands,

tenements, tythes, oblations, and all other profits, as all goods, cattels, debts, duties, wards, marriages, and reliefs, and all other profits whatsoever they be, whereof they or any of them, or any other or others to their use and behoof, or to the use and behoof of any of them, were seised or possessed the said xxv. day of July, the said xxvi. year or any time sithence, whereof any sale, gift or payment without any fraud, deceit or collusion, have not be made to or by them or any of them.

V. And over that, be it enacted, authorized and established by authority aforesaid, that after the death of the auncestours of any of the said persons, or any other by whom immediately they or any of them mought have had, any uses, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments in use by discent, remainder or reverter or otherwise, the first day of April in the xxv. year of our said sovereign lords reign, all honours, castles, manors, lordships, uses, hundreds, fraunchises, liberties, priviledges, advowsons, nominations, presentations, knights fees, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, remainders, portions, annuities, pensions, offices, possessions, hereditaments, and all other profits whatsoever they be, that they or any of them mought have had immediately in use, by discent, remainder, reverter, entre, lawful or otherwise, in fee simple, or in fee tail, the said first day of April, in the said xxv. year, if their auncestours or the auncestours of any of them, or any other, by whom they or any of them might have had in use by discent, remainder, reverter, entre, lawful, or otherwise the premisses, or any part thereof, then had departed this present transitory life, be forfeit to our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors for ever. And that our sovereign lord the King, his heys and successors, immediately after the death of the said auncestours or any of them, or any other by whom immediately they mought have any uses, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, in maner and form as is aforesaid, shall enter and enjoy all the said honors, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, and all other the premisses, to have and to hold to our said sovereign lord, his heys and successors for ever.

VI. And be it further enacted by authority aforesaid, that aswell all such persons, which sithence the feast of All Saints in the year of our lord God a thousand five hundred thirty four by the course of

the Kings laws within this land have been within this land convicted attainted of treason, as all others which at any time hereafter shall chaunce within the same to be convicted or attainted of high treason within the space of three yeares next following the first day of this present parliament, forfeit and lose to our said sovereign lord the King and his heyres all honours, castles, manors, lordships, leetes, hundreds, franchises, liberties, priviledges, advowsons, nominations, foundations, patronages, presentations, knights fees, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, remainders, proportions, annuities, pensions, offices, and all other hereditaments, profits, whatsoever they be, that they or any of them, or any other or others to their use and behoof, or to the use and behoof of any of them, were seised the several dayes of their several treasons, offences, and trespasses by them committed and done, or any time after to be committed and done, within the land of Ireland, in fee simple or in fee tayl, or into which any of them had then or any time after lawful cause of entre within this land of Ireland, and also lose, and forfeit to our said sovereign lord as well all such estates of freehold and interest for years, of lands, tenements, tythes, oblations, and other profits, as all goods, cattels, debts, wards, and all other profits whatsoever they be, whereof they or any of them, or any other or others to their use, or to the use of any of them, were seised or possessed at any time of conviction or attainder of any such offences, whereof any sale, gift, or payment without any fraud, deceit, or collusion had not been made to or by them or any of them. Saving always to every person or persons and bodies politique, their heys, assignes, and successors, and every of them, other than such persons, their heys, successors, feoffees, recoverers, conusees, and assignes, and the heirs, successors, feoffees, recoverers, conusees, and assignes of every of them, which by this present act be attainted, or sithence, the feast of All Saints the year of our Lord God, 1534, have bin attainted, or hereafter within the said three years shall be attainted, and their heys and successors, and all other claiming to their uses, or to the use of any of them, all such conditions, rents, commons, which they or any of them shall happen to have in or upon any such manors, lands, tenements, and any other hereditaments, that hath been or so shall happen to be lost

or forfeit by reason of this act, or by reason of attainder of any of the persons by the same attainted, sithence the feast of All Saints, the year of our Lord God, 1534, have been attainted for any treason or other offence, at any time before the said treasons and offences committed. And also saving alwayes to every person and persons, their heys, assigns, and successors, and every of them, other then such persons, theirs heys, successors, and assigns, and the heys, successors, and assigns of every of them, which by this present act be attainted, or sithence the feast of All Saints the year of our Lord God, 1534, have been attainted, or hereafter within the said three years shall be attainted, and their heys and successors, and all other claiming to their uses, or to the use of any of them, all such right, title, use, interest, possession, condition, rents, charges, fees, offices, annuities, commons, which they or any of them shall happen to have, in, to, and upon any such manors, lands, tenements, and any other hereditaments, that so shall happen to be lost, and forfeited, by reason of the attainder of any person or persons, at any time after the twentieth day of June, the xxvii. year of the reign of our said sovereign lord the King, within the said three years, other then such persons, their heys, successors, and assigns, and the heys, successors, and assigns of every of them, which by this present act be or shall be attainted, shall chaunce or fortune to be attainted for any treason or other offence at any time before the said treasons and offences committed.

VII. Provided also, and be it enacted by authority aforesaid, That if the said persons, or any of them, which by this present act be attainted, or sithence the said feast of All Saints before specified have been attainted, or that hereafter within the said three years shall chance to be attainted of high treason, or within the said three years chaunce to be sole seysed or possessed, or joyntly seised or possessed with any other or others, to the use of any other person or persons, body or bodies politike, other then any such person or persons that by this present act be attainted, or sithence the feast of All Saints before specified have been attainted, or that hereafter within the said three years chance to be attainted of any manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and all other hereditaments, that the said manors, messuages, landes, tenements, and other hereditaments,

be not forfeit to our said sovereign lord, ne his heirs, ne seisable, ne seised into the hands of our said sovereign lord, ne his heirs, so that the said use being in the said other person or persons, and bodies politique, be not conveyed from any of the said persons attainted or to be attainted in form aforesaid; sithence or after the day of the offences. And that it shall be lawfull to every such person and persons, body and bodies politique, their heires, successors, and assignes, that be not ne hereafter within the said three yeares shall be attainted of high treason as is aforesaid, to enter and seise as well upon the possession of the King, as any other person in the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, and all other hereditaments, and them to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy the possession according to such estate and interest as they had in the said use of the same, in such form as if no such attaindor had not been had, nor within the said three yeares should fortune to be.

VIII. And moreover be it enacted and ordeyned by the said authority, that every of the wives of any of the said persons now living, by this act attainted and unhabled, and every such woman, such as was the wife of any of the said persons now dead, and were convicted and attainted of treason, or at any time hereafter shall be attainted or convicted of treason, be put to execution for the same, by this act unhabled, freely enjoy, have, and possess after the death of her husband all her own inheritance to her and to her heyres other than be attainted, or convicted, or hereafter at any time during the said three yeares shall be convicted or attainted, and unhabled by this act, and all castells, manors, lands, tenements, and all other the premisses, whereof they the several dayes of their husbands treasons and offences committed and done, or to be committed and done, in any wise, were or shall be seysed or possessed in her own right, estate, or possession, or of which any person or persons were or shall be seised or possessed to the use of every of the said women and her husband, and after the form and maner, and in like estate, as they or any of them were or shall be entitled to the same at the several dayes of their treasons and offences committed and done, or at any time hereafter to be committed and done. So that the said right, estate, possession, use, or inheritance of the said wife or wives last before rehearsed be not growne to them or any of them by the act

or consent of any of their said husbands sithence or after the day of their several treasons done or to be done, and that during the said estate, be not feisible ne seised by this act into the Kings handes, nor the King to be answered of any issues or profites of any part thereof, after the deaths of their said several husbands, the said estate during. And that it be lawful to every of the said wives and women, and every of their heyres not convicted, ne attainted, nor at any time hereafter shall be convicted or attainted and unhabled by this act, and to everie other person or persons seised to the use of the said women, and their husbands, and their heirs, to enter into the said castles, manors, lordships, and other the premisses, and everie of them, into whose possession soever they be seised or come, as well upon the possession of the King, or upon the possession of every other person or persons, by this act not attainted nor unhabled, and them and every of them, hold and enjoy to her and her heirs not attainted nor convicted, nor at any time hereafter shall be convicted or attainted, ne unhabled by this act, according to her or their title, right, and interest in the same, in such form and condition as if this said attainder had never been had.

IX. And be it further enacted by authority aforesaid, that no manors, meases, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, ne any other hereditaments, whereof any person or persons, bodie or bodies politique or incorporate was disseised or expelled of at any time by any of the aforesaid traytours, or any other person or persons whatsoever he or they be, sithence the first day of February, the year of our Lord God 1534, shall be forfeited unto our said sovereign lord the King, his heyres or successors, ne seised or seisable in his or their hands, ne that this act, nor anything therein contained, in any wise be prejudicial or hurtful to any such person or persons, body or bodies politique or incorporate, so disseised or expelled, ne this same act, or anything therein contained, extend to any such manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, or other hereditaments so had by disseissen or expulsement sithence the said first day of February.

APPENDIX V.

AN ACT FOR RESTORING THE EARL OF KILDARE, HIS BROTHER AND SISTERS, TO THEIR BLOOD.—ROT. PARL. cap. i.

IN humble wise sheweth unto your Highnesse, your faithfull and humble subjects, Gerald Fitz Gerald, now earl of Kildare, Edward Fitz Gerald, brother to the said earl, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cicile, sisters to the said earl, whereas at a parliament holden at Dublin, the eight and twentieth year of the reigne of your noble father, King Henry the eighth, before the lord Leonard Gray, then lord deputie of this realm, it was enacted, “That Gerald Fitz Gerald, deceased, late earl of Kildare, father to your suppliants, and Thomas Fitz Gerald, son and heir unto the said earl, and elder brother to your suppliants, should be deemed, reputed, convicted, adjudged, and attainted traytors of high treason, and should forfeit and lose the title, stile, and name of honour of earl of Kyldare, together with all the lands and hereditaments belonging unto them,” by force of which act your suppliants doe stand, and are persons corrupted in their blood and lynage, and thereby disabled to take or claime any thing by discent from their said father or brother, or from or by any other collaterall auncestour or cousen, or to make his or their pedegree by or through the said Gerald, late earl, or the said Thomas, late lord Thomas, and after the said attainder, most excellent Sovereign, your suppliant the now earl, being an infant and put in fear, travayled in the countries of straunge and forrein potentates, contrary to his naturall inclination, till he was called home by the clemencie of that most famous prince, King Edward the sixth, your Graces most noble brother, who not onely made him his servant, and received him to his favour, but also most bountifully restored him to the greatest part and portion of the lands belonging to his late father, and after your Graces sister, Queen Mary, did give your suppliant the name

and title of honour of earl of Kyldare, with the same preheminences, place and degree, that any of his auncestors earls had and held the same, together with all the lands belonging to the said earl, father to your complaynants, which he had at any time during his life, other than such lands that were given away or granted by your noble father or brother, and of late your Hignesse, of your princely motion, have restored your supplyant to a portion of his living, which hitherto was thought to hang in some doubt; and forasmuch as your suppliant is not onely restored to the state of earl, but also considered with livings for the better maintenance of the same, and yet findeth in himself a great defect, for that he is not restored to his bloud: Hee most humbly beseecheth your Majestie, that it may be enacted, and bee it enacted by your Highnesse with the assent of the Lords spirituall and temporall and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That your said subjects and supplyants, the said now earl, his brother, and sisters, and his and their heirs, from henceforth shall be and be by authoritie of this act restored to his and their auncient blood and lynage, enabled to make his and their conveyhaunce, pedegree, and title by discent lyneall or collaterall, from and by his and their said father and brother, and all other his and their auncestors, whosoever they be, in such manner and sort as though the said attainer or attainders, corruption of blood, or any other impediments to the contrarie had never been; any law, statute, record, provision, conviction, judgmente, cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

II. Provided alway, and be it enacted by authoritie aforesaid, That this act, nor any thing therein conteyned, shall not extend to make voyd and frustrate any gift, grant, lease for life or years, or any other estate of freehold or inheritance, passed and granted by your Highnesse father, King Henry the eighth of famous memorie, your brother King Edward the sixth, your sister Queen Mary, Kynge Phillippe and Queene Marie, your Highnesse, or the said Geralde, now earl, and his feoffees, or the said earlo, or any his feoffees, or any of them: but that all such grants, gifts, leases, and every estate of freehold and inheritance so given or made, and every of them, shall be and remain of such force and effect in law, as

they bee and were before this act, and in such force and effect to all intents, purposes, and constructions, as if this act had never been had ne made; this act or anything therein conteyned to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding.

III. Provided always, and be it enacted by authoritie, aforesaid, That this act, nor anything therein conteyned, be prejudicial unto her highness, or in any wise to the disadvantage or advantage of the forsaid Geralde, now earl of Kildare, his brother and sisters, other than restitution of their blood and lynage, and such things as be incident and appertayning to their blood.

APPENDIX VI.

CATALOGUE OF THE EARL OF KILDARE'S LIBRARY IN 1526, FROM
"THE EARL OF KILDARE'S RENTAL" IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.—
Harl. 3756.

Bok^e remayning in The Lyberary of Geralde Ffitz Geralde, Erle of
Kyldare, the xv. day of ffebruarii, a^o Henrici viij. xvij^o.

FFURST LATIN BOKYS.

In primis Hugo de Vianna sup libru^m Mathei, Biblia.

Hugo de Vienna sup Spalteriu^m, Cronica.

Tria volumina opis Scti Anthonii cū tabula, Cronicorum.

Tria volumina Cronice Anthonini.

Quatuor volumina de Lira.

Diallog^o Scti Grigorii.

Tabula Vtilissima sup Liram.

Wirgilius cū glosa.

Jacobi Locher Philomusi poeta Epigrammatta.

Opus Cornelii Vitelli poete.

Vocabula Juris.

Juvenalis cū glosa.

Theodotus cu commento.

Boæcius de Cosolatione Phylosophye.

Ortus Sanitat^e.

Therencius.

Ffaciculus Tempore.

De div^{er}sitate Avium.

Liber Cronice in Pgamene.

Liber Alixandre Magne.

Ordinale.

Suma Angelica.

Caliopin^e.

Ortus Vocabulor^e & Medulla Gramatici.

Comentaria Sesaris.

Vegeſius.

Vthopia Mori.

Hymphi Andree poete.

Novum Testamentum.

Cambrene de Topografia.

Laurencius Valla.

FRENCH BOOK^s.

Scala Cronica, in Kyldare.

Ffrossart, iiij. volumis.

Anguiran, ij. volumis.

Le Zillustracions de Gaule & Singularites de Troy.

Launcelott du Lake, iij. volumis.

De Lattere Sauncte.

Ogièz le Danois.

Larbre des Bataillis.

Vn Autre Libre en Ffrancois en pchemyn.

Vng ptie de la Bible.

Leis Cronikes de Ffrence.

Mandevile.

Lalace damore de Vine,

Le Brevier des Nobles,

Le Catir Chosis,

Le Triumph des Dames.

Ung Liber de Ffarsis.

Le Legent de tout^e Saunct^e.

Les Triomphis de Petrake.

Le Geardyn de Plesance.

Le Romant de la Roise et Mathiolus.

Ung Abreviacion de la Bible.

Le Soonge du Virgine.

Ercules.

Encheridion.

Vincent Istoriace, v. volumis.

} en ung volume.

La i. volume de la Bible.
 Saynt Austen de Civitate Dei, ij. volumis.
 Polipomenon Saint Jerome en Parchement.
 Les Croniques de la grand et petit Bretaine.
 Lemethamorphoze.
 Josaphuk^e le la bataille Judik.
 Oraste le ij. volume.
 Le graunte Boece.
 Le ij. & iij. Decade de Titus Livius.
 1 Cronique de Ffraunce en Parchemyn.
 Les Commentaris de Sesar.

ENGLYSH Bok^r.

Ffurst Polycronicon.
 Bockas.
 Arthur.
 The Sege of Thebes.
 The Croniklis of England.
 Cristian de Pise.
 Camberens.
 The Distruccion of Troy.
 The Sège of Jerusalem.
 The Enaydos.
 Charlamayn.
 The Shepdes Calender.
 Gesta Romanor^e.
 Troillus.
 Caton de Senectute & de Amicisia.
 The Ordre of the Gart^e.
 The King of Englonde is ansre to Lutter.
 The Sege of the Roodis.
 Llittilton is Tenores.
 S^r Thomas More is Booke agaynes Newe opinions that hold agaynes
 pilgrimag^e.
 Regimine Sanitatt^e.
 A nolde Booke of the Croneklys of Englund.

IRISH BOKE.

Saltir Cashill.

Saint Beraghan's Boke.

Anothir Boke wherein is the begynnyng of the Cronicles of Ireland.

The Birth of Criste.

Saint That yus lyf.

Saint Jacob is passion.

The Spech of Oyncheagis.

Saint Ffeg hyn is lif.

Saint Ffynyan is lif.

Bryslagh Mymoregh.

Concullyns Act^s.

The Monk^s of Egipt^s lif.

Ffoilfylmy The vij. Sag^s.

The Declaracon of Gospellis.

Saint Bernard^s Passion.

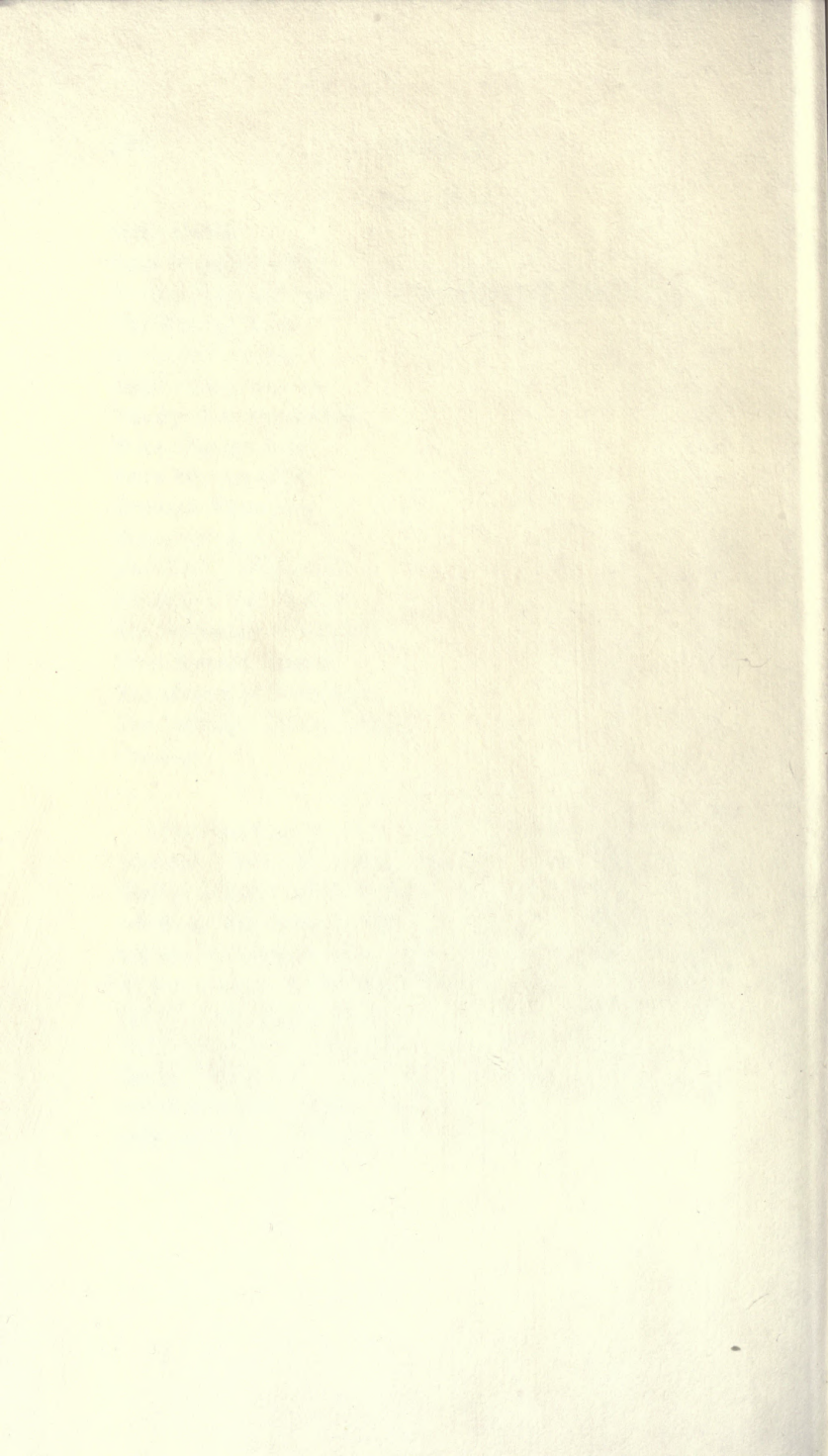
The History of Clane Lyre.

The Leching of Khene is legg.

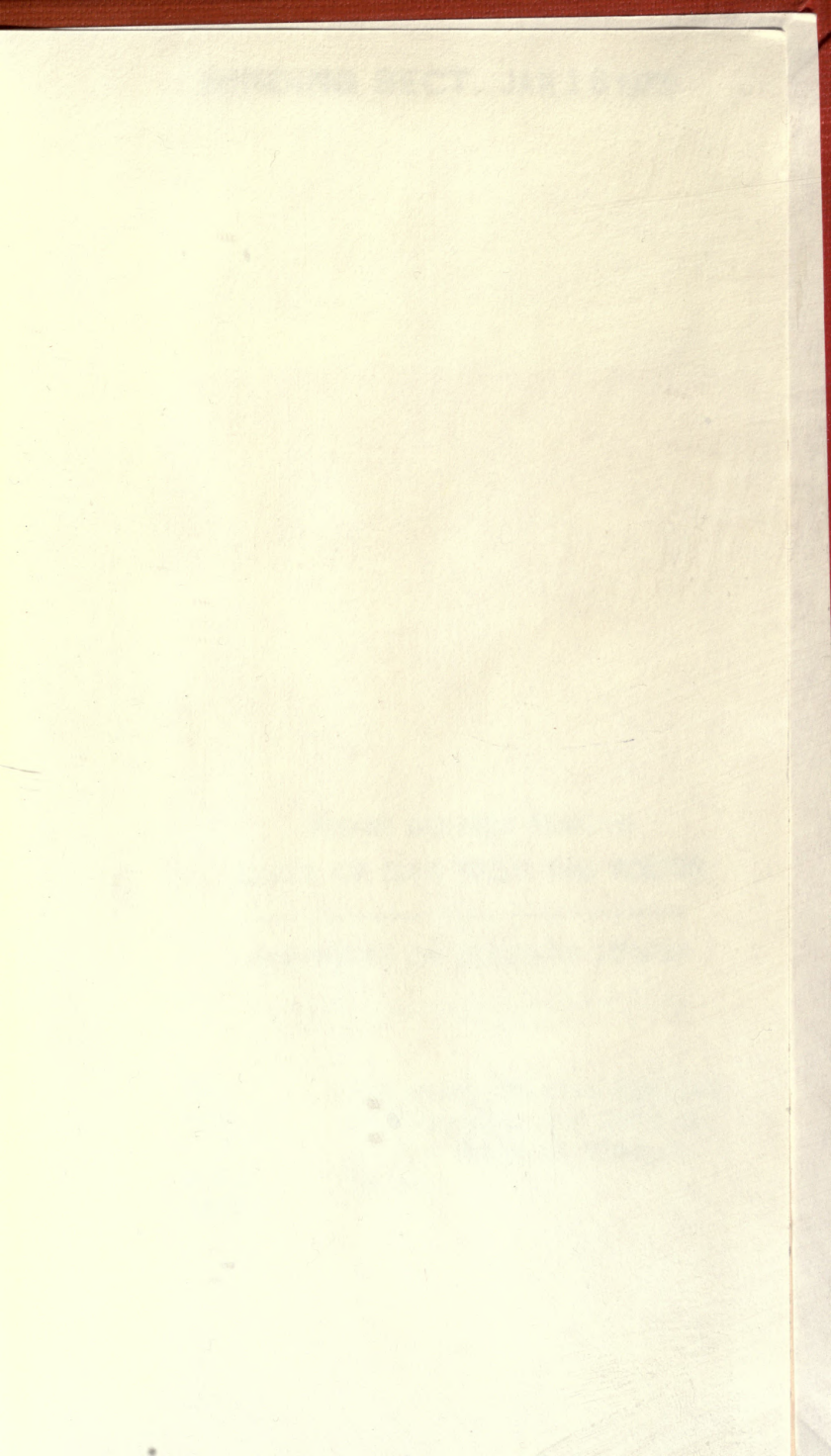
Cambens.

"Stanihurst relates that Philip Flattisbury flourished in the year 1517, and writ diverse chronicles at the instance of Gerald Earl of Kildare; and Flattisbury, in the beginning of those annals, which are still extant in MS. under his name, speaks thus of himself and his performances—'Here follow divers Chronicles written at the instance of the Noble and Magnanimous Lord, Girald Fitz Girald, Lord Deputy of Ireland, by Philip Flattisbury of Johnstown, near Naas, A.D. 1517, and in the ninth year of King Henry VIIIth.' . . . But it is evident that he was only a verbal transcriber of them, and not the author, a very small addition only excepted."—*Ware's Writers of Ireland*, p. 92.





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Leinster, Charles William
FitzGerald, 4th Duke of
The Earls of Kildare
2d ed.

